

ENGLISH HOMES

PERIOD IV - VOL. II

THE WORK OF
SIR JOHN VANBRUGH
AND HIS SCHOOL

1699-1736

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Period IV—Vol. II

Sir John Vanbrugh and His School, 1699-1736

COUNTRY



LIFE

First Published in 1928



CASTLE HOWARD: THE CENTRE OF THE SOUTH SIDE.

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PERIOD IV—VOL. II

THE WORK OF SIR JOHN VANBRUGH
AND HIS SCHOOL, 1699-1736

BY

H. AVRAY TIPPING, M.A., F.S.A.

AND

CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY

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SEATON DELAVAL : THE ENTRANCE SIDE.



NORTH PEDIMENT OF THE CLARENDON BUILDING, OXFORD.

PREFACE

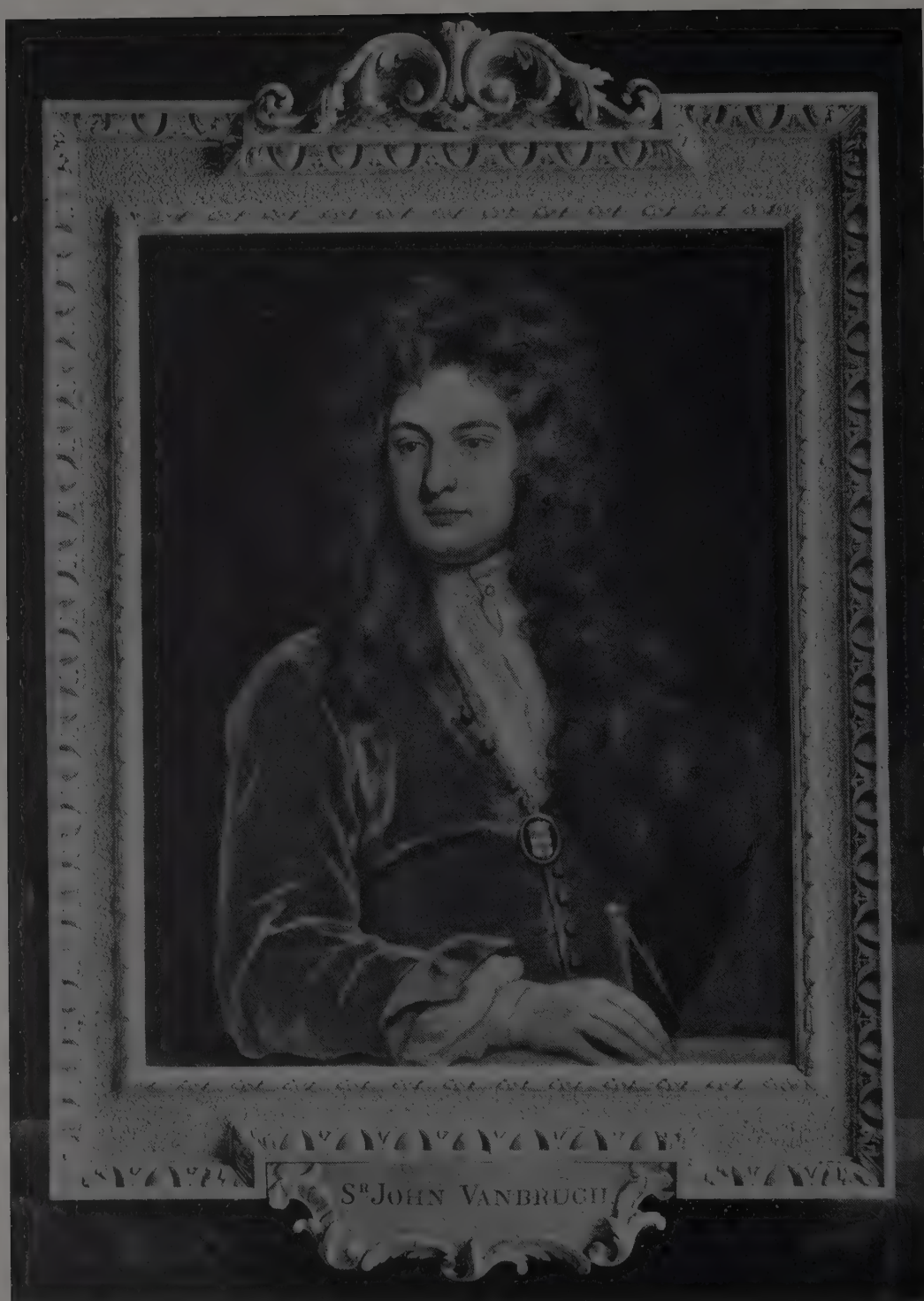
THE work of Vanbrugh, and of those of his contemporaries who were with him or felt his influence, does not exactly accord in time with the chronological compartments into which the English Homes Series is divided. Period IV ends with the death of Queen Anne in 1714, whereas Vanbrugh did not die until 1726.

Yet before 1714 he had not only designed, but carried far towards completion, his two largest creations, Castle Howard and Blenheim, and he had in hand the erection or alteration of such great houses as Kings Weston and Eastbury, Kimbolton and Gilling. He had been Comptroller of the Works for twelve years and was fully established as the leading architect of the group of Whig Magnates who were his fellow-members of the Kit-Cat Club. Thus, although his latest and, in some respects, best work—such as Seaton Delaval—dates from the reign of George I, yet this volume, devoted to his achievements, is classed as the second one dealing with the 1660–1714 period.

Had Vanbrugh a school? He has rather been looked upon as a comet, traversing alone his own eccentric orbit. But one of the objects of this volume is to show his leadership of so important a contemporary as Hawksmoor and of lesser professionals, such as Etty and Wakefield. Moreover, his influence is widely traceable, as at Frampton and Shotover, and William Kent, although himself a man of originality and serving under another flag, may surely be ranked as a continuator of Vanbrugh's manner in his designing of both buildings and gardens. Vanbrugh's position as the true father of the landscape conception of the architecture and environment of English seats is, for the first time, insisted upon in this volume.

We have sought not to trespass beyond the architectural section of the activities of this many-sided genius, except in so far as a right appreciation of it called for some general knowledge of his character, aims and career.

Those who desire to go more thoroughly into his life can now study the whole of the surviving letters of this vivacious correspondent, edited with judgment and knowledge by Mr. Geoffrey Webb. We readily acknowledge his willing assistance to us in our own labours, which also have included research into much unpublished material, resulting from the kind manner in which the owners of several of the places described—such as Castle Howard and Kings Weston—have unlocked for us the doors of their muniment rooms. Thanks are also due to Mr. Goodison for the use of his invaluable notes and transcripts from old Office of Works' and other official accounts.



SIR JOHN VANBRUGH, BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER.
From the Kit-Cat portrait now at Bayfordbury.

INTRODUCTION

I.—Prelude

SIR JOHN VANBRUGH provides the rare and stimulating spectacle of an original mind brought freshly to bear on architecture when already fully developed. He was uncommonly free from the artistic conventions of any age, while he had a sympathy for them all and—which does not always follow—a virile and personal conviction of the emotional possibilities of architecture apart from styles. He had the additional advantage of following another original genius, Wren, who had similarly brought to architectural invention a mind formed outside the world of art. Yet, although Wren had cleared the field of prejudice, it needed a man of Vanbrugh's imagination and dominating personality to follow without copying him. The two men, between whom close personal relations existed, were, as artists, complete opposites. Wren, the mathematician, approached architectural design by the least emotional road—that of geometry. His architecture, English in its origins and essential gentleness, has the quiet inevitability of abstract science. Vanbrugh, the dramatist, substituted for geometry grand opera, crashing chords and contrasts for subtlety of formal relations. Wren produced art by excluding all “accidents” that were irrelevant to his ideal; Vanbrugh, by intensifying the stresses and triumphs of earth. It is the difference between the spiritual and the humanist attitude, between a Bach fugue and an oratorio of Handel. Vanbrugh is the English counterpart and contemporary of Fischer von Erlach in Austria and of Neumann in Germany. His baroque aptitude is not English, but Teutonic, the race from which he sprang.

Of Vanbrugh no complete Life, wholly based on recorded evidence, has been or ever can be written, because sufficient material is lacking. We can clearly co-ordinate and solidly estimate the aims and achievements of his maturity. But we can only suggest or guess at the steps and events which produced the mental equipment of a man who filled a quite considerable space in the social, literary and architectural life of one of England's most brilliant epochs.

We may date the beginning of his public career from the day, in 1696, when he astonished the town by the verve and individuality displayed in his first comedy. He was then thirty-two years old, and of all that he did afterwards we can speak with a good deal of certainty. But as to the earlier half of his life there is more conjecture than evidence, more plausible assumption than established fact.

Some information as to his forebears lay at the College of Arms when Mark Noble wrote its history, published in 1805. In the year 1714, shortly before he was made a knight, Vanbrugh, who, since 1703, had belonged to the College, thought well to obtain a confirmation of his arms, and therefore supplied the Earl of Suffolk—then acting as Deputy-Marshal for his cousin, the Duke of Norfolk—with an account of his family. It showed :

That Giles Vanbrug quitting his native country for the enjoyment of the reformed religion, retired to England, and having been bred a merchant, settled as such in London, in the parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook, where he continued until his death, in 1646; and having purchased a vault in the church was buried in it. This Giles bore his ancestral arms and crest, but had made no entry of them in the College of Arms.

The matter was referred by Suffolk to “Garter and Clarenceux,” and as Vanbrugh himself was “Clarenceux,” we are not surprised to find that confirmation was granted and that the “ancestorial arms” of three barrulets on a fess with a demy lion in chief was “ordered to be quartered with the shield of his mother.” The first Giles had another Giles as his third son; and Giles junior, who “was styled an Esquire,” married into an ennobled family. Dudley Carleton, James I's well known diplomatist with whom Chamberlain corresponded, was created Viscount Dorchester by Charles I, and it was Elizabeth, daughter to his nephew, Sir Dudley Carleton, whom Giles Vanbrugh junior took to wife. She bore him, among other children

(nineteen in all, it is said), a son, John. He was born in 1664, while they were still living in London; but not long after that—owing to the Plague in London, perhaps—the family migrated, and we are told that Giles “settled in the city of Chester, and was, it is supposed, a sugar baker, where he acquired a very ample fortune.” The natural inference is that young John received his early education at Chester, and it would seem that at the age of nineteen he went to France. We know nothing of why he went to, what he did in, and when he returned from that country; but he will have been back in England when, or soon after, he came of age, for in 1686 he was gazetted a cadet in the Earl of Huntingdon’s regiment.

Although a soldier, and although war with France broke out after William III had displaced his father-in-law from the English throne, yet we hear of Cadet Vanbrugh being again in that country in 1690 without having equipped himself with a passport. That accounts for the well known Bastille episode, set down by Noble as the result of Vanbrugh’s “too narrowly scrutinizing a fortification.” It is the only event in his early career that is well documented. M. Ravaisson, in his *Archives de La Bastille*, has collected, under the heading “Espions,” over a dozen official letters on the subject. In July, 1691, the Marquis de Barbezieux—son and successor of Louvois—writes to the Comte de Pontchartrain, recently appointed Secretary of State, that Vanbrugh—

was arrested at Calais on a report made by a woman of Paris that this man was going away without a passport after the declaration of war, and it has appeared from information that one has got since then, that this man had introduced the woman of Paris to “un mylord,” and that this lord had much at heart Vanbrugh’s obtaining his liberty.

The arrest had taken place a year before this letter was written, and negotiations for an exchange had been at once initiated. Both William III and Louis XIV had active intelligence departments, and there were somewhat frequent arrests of real and imagined spies. In the same year that Vanbrugh was stopped as he was seeking to leave Calais for England, a like fate had befallen Montagu North, for we read in Luttrell’s Diary, under date January 8th, 1690, that—

Mr. North, brother to the late lord keeper, was clapt up at Thoulon on suspicion of goeing King William’s agent to Constantinople.

Another brother, Sir Dudley North, City merchant and ex-Lord Mayor, took up the matter of an exchange; but it fell through, and Luttrell wrote down on February 11th, 1692:

Last letters from France say, 3 English gentlemen, Mr. Vanbrook, Mr. Goddard, and Mr. North, were clapt up in the Bastile, suspected to be spies.

Although he adds, a month later, that “French merchants were the other day sent to the Tower, to be used as Mr. North and Mr. Vanbroke are in the Bastile,” yet there was no immediate enlargement of the three Englishmen, of whom Vanbrugh alone ever seems to have been at the Bastille; for another of Montagu North’s brothers distinctly tells us that at Toulon “he lay three years and a half,” and there is no mention of him or of Goddard in Ravaisson’s exhaustive work. As to Vanbrugh, King Louis’s Government would only allow his release in exchange for a Frenchman of equal social position, whom the English Government evidently desired to retain, and so Pontchartrain writes to Calais in September, 1690, that, as King Louis heard that his agent had been sent to Newgate, the Commandant is to guard Vanbrugh much more narrowly in order to prevent all danger of escape. The Commandant, however, pays little attention to this, and in the following February is censured for having allowed Vanbrugh “to promenade during three days in the town of Calais.” Although he is to be well treated, he must be kept a close prisoner until the English Government agrees to exchange the French gentleman for him.

Nevertheless, King Louis has every wish that Vanbrugh should not unnecessarily suffer, and as he complains that his health is impaired at Calais, he is transferred in May to the Château de Vincennes, where, as soon as he can find a Frenchman who will become surety for him in a sufficient sum, he is to be given freedom to take exercise in the courtyards. Vanbrugh evidently had French friends, who saw that his complaints reached the Royal ear. Thus, in November, 1691, Pontchartrain writes to the Governor of Vincennes:

The King receives every day new complaints from Vanbrugh of the ill-usage he gets, and he has now notified that his board has been curtailed and that you don’t let him have a fire. As, at present, he is not, himself, able to procure the necessary means, it is the King’s wish that you supply him with all that he may need, and that you treat him well, so that his Majesty is no longer importuned by his complaints.

The importunity, however, continued until his removal from Vincennes to the more comfortable and aristocratic Bastille was permitted at the beginning of 1692, so that we read in the journal of its governor, under date February 1st, that, at four o'clock in the evening, "M. de Vanbrugh, Anglais," has been brought there from Vincennes and has been allotted a room in the Tower of the Liberty—that is to say, in quarters that gave freedom of the courtyard—and has full permission to take exercise and to see all who come to visit him. The number and importance of his French friends is soon shown still further, for it must have been through their intercession that the prison doors were opened for him in the autumn. We read in the Governor's journal :

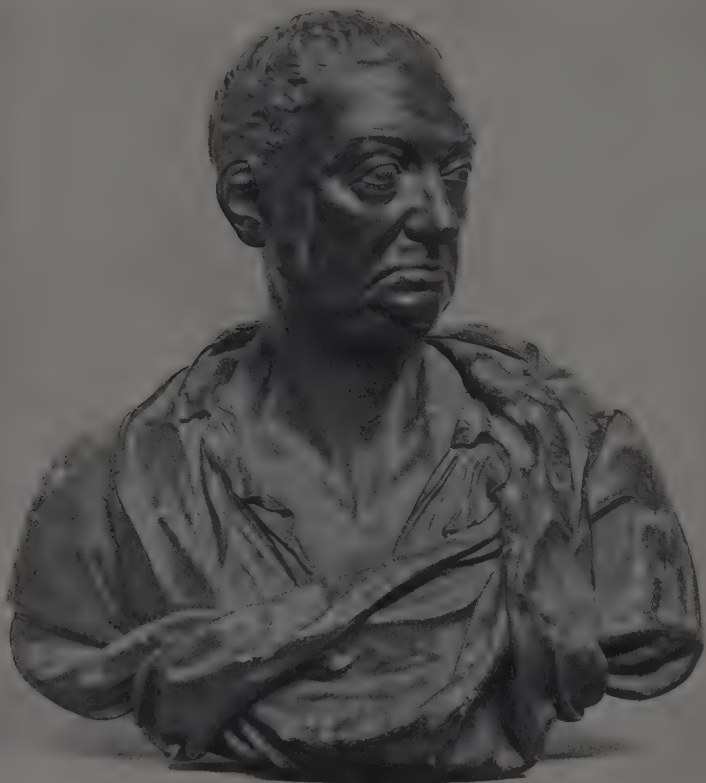
On Wednesday, November 22nd. eleven o'clock in the morning, M. l'abbé de Lagny brought the order to give entire liberty to M. de Vanbrugh, Englishman, for whom, in order that he may have his liberty in Paris, he has given good caution money, and the assurance of a thousand pistoles in case of escape, for which, M. de Lagny, farmer general, has taken all necessary sureties.

After that, the curtain again comes down, and the date of Vanbrugh's return to England is not recorded.

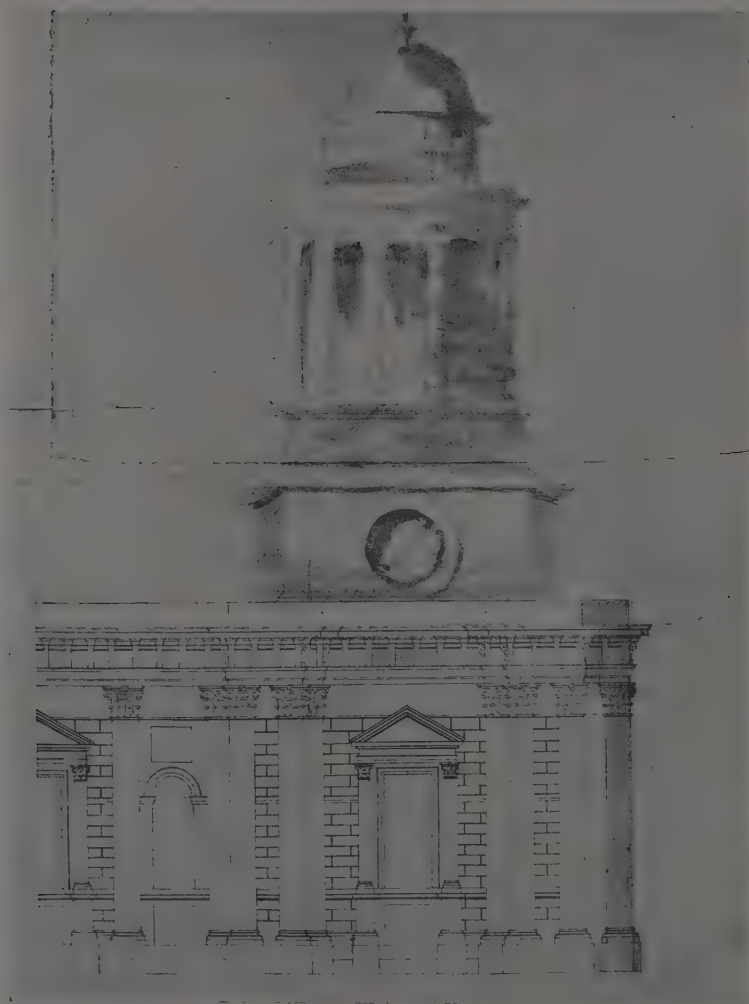
When he did get home he must soon have begun making important friendships in London, although we hear nothing of him until 1696, when he is called "Captain Vanbrook," having obtained a company in Berkeley's marine regiment. A short and ineffective expedition appears to have been all the service he saw, and he was free to turn his mind to the stage. "The Relapse, or Virtue in Danger" was produced at Drury Lane on Boxing Day, 1696, and made its author famous, for it had a freshness and racy originality that excused its careless construction. The somewhat dull and moral "Æsop" and the much stronger and more highly flavoured "Provoked Wife" followed in 1697. So strongly flavoured was the latter that it aroused a latent feeling that playwrights were really lapsing too far from decency, a view which we recognise—when we read the plays of the time—might very justly be held without affectation of prudery or puritanism. Vanbrugh's light-hearted adoption and open treatment of the decidedly coarse habits and language of his day brought down upon him the special censure of Jeremy Collier, who published his "Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage" in 1699.

Great as the position was that Vanbrugh assumed as a dramatist, and much as it brought him into fashion with those social leaders who liked music and the drama, wit and conversation, such as the Earls of Manchester and Carlisle, yet it is evident that Vanbrugh thought and spoke much about another subject dear to his heart. Trained or untrained in its practice as he may have been, architecture certainly appealed strongly to him, and must have taken almost the first place in his thoughts. There is, after all, no reason to suppose that he had less training than had Wren when, as a young Savilian professor of astronomy, his uncle, the Bishop of Ely, set him to work on a new chapel for Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1663. But the surprising thing is that we find neither hint nor trace of Vanbrugh ever having tried his hand on a modest first essay in architecture before Lord Carlisle engaged him to design a building almost comparable in size and dignity to St. Paul's. That cannot have been later than the early part of 1699, for it is clear that the Earl of Manchester was aware of and interested in the matter before he went on his embassy to Paris in the August of that year. Vanbrugh writes to him there, in December, a long, chatty letter, full of London news, but also relates how he has been to Henderskelfe—afterwards re-christened Castle Howard—and also to Chatsworth, where the Duke of Devonshire has seen the new plans and has "absolutely approved." Others whose opinion carried weight have been favourable during the autumn, and now "the model is preparing in wood which when done is to travel to Kensington, where the King's thoughts upon't are to be had."

Is it reasonable, even possible, to suppose that, as a first attempt at practical architecture, Vanbrugh could show such mastery of technique as to make finished designs for a huge group of buildings of much elaboration of parts? Certainly he will have had the rich imagination and bold originality to conceive and to give it life and shape in the mass; but, when it came to detail and construction, he surely needed a fully trained and capable professional, and, therefore, we may safely conclude that in 1699 he was already associated with the man of whose close connection with him in the following year we have documentary evidence.



i.—BUST OF NICHOLAS HAWKSMOOR.
It is in the buttery of All Souls College, Oxford.



ii.—SKETCH FOR THE NORTH-WEST TOWER OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Probably washed in by Vanbrugh above a carefully drawn design of that corner of the Cathedral.

II.—The Coadjutor

Nicholas Hawksmoor was three years Vanbrugh's senior, having been born in Nottinghamshire in 1661. Before he was nineteen he entered the office of Sir Christopher Wren, who, in his official capacity as Surveyor at the Office of Works, was then busy with St. Paul's Cathedral and the City churches, with the Palaces of Winchester and Kensington, and with the Hospital of Chelsea. While Charles II reigned Hawksmoor was employed at Chelsea and at Winchester. When William III mounted the throne in 1689 and purchased Nottingham House, its alterations and enlargement into Kensington Palace were entrusted to Wren, and Hawksmoor acted there as clerk of the works from first to last. He will also have assisted Wren in his architectural undertakings outside the Office of Works, such as at the Universities, and, no doubt, Wren, as time went on, was prepared to hand over to him portions of such work.

If the records of Queen's College, Oxford, were a little fuller as regards its re-building, we might be positive as to Wren's finding independent work for Hawksmoor. In the very full history of the College that Dr. Magrath, its aged Provost, published in 1921, he tells us that "tradition has always assigned the design of the new college to Hawksmoor." The re-building, however, continued for at least forty years, and, though Hawksmoor certainly acted independently in and after 1710, he may have been at first either acting merely as Wren's assistant or, at most, under his guiding eye. In either case, however, we may feel certain that Wren felt that Hawksmoor had limitations—perhaps a sort of diffidence—that militated against his being offered a first place and a free hand in the creation of important buildings. There were then at Oxford certain members of the University who wished to dominate local architecture. At the head of these were Dean Aldrich of Christ Church and Dr. Clarke of All Souls. Provost Halton of Queen's is likely also to have



iii.—IN THE LIBRARY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Design probably by Nicholas Hawksmoor, in or after 1692.

been of this band, and, wishing to have a say in the matter, may have preferred for his purpose Hawksmoor to Wren, just as Wren, in those circumstances, would prefer that Hawksmoor rather than himself should be employed. It would seem that, as early as 1682, Halton approached Wren, and that certain designs were made. The first part of the re-building was to take the form of a great library, similar to, if not so great and elaborate as, that on which Wren

was engaged at Trinity College, Cambridge. Nothing, however, was done till Halton laid the first stone of it in 1692. That the building, within and without, is quite in the Wren manner is not against the tradition that Hawksmoor was in charge, for we shall find, as, for instance, at Easton Neston (page 129), that he was a designer who was apt to reflect the style of a stronger and more inventive man. The structure of the library building appears to have been complete in 1694, and the interior work and fittings followed on and are included in the accounts kept by Halton, who died in 1704. So far, therefore, we shall expect nothing but Wren-like treatment in what had been done at Queen's. Out of a total of £5,247, the joinery cost £729 13s. 6d., while the bill of Roberts, the plasterer, for the ceiling amounts to £148 9s. 8d. The interior (Fig. iii) shows that both joinery and stucco work are, as we should expect, treated in complete Wren manner. The great doorway, with Corinthian columns and broken entablature, is similar to what we find at Trinity College, Cambridge. So also are the beautifully designed and richly adorned projecting bookcases forming recesses for students. At Queen's, however, all the carvings are in oak, and, probably, not by Grinling Gibbons; whereas those at Trinity are of limewood and from the workshop of the great master carver. Roberts' ceiling, again, reminds us of many that we find in Wren's London buildings, both lay and ecclesiastical—such, for instance, as Doogood executed at St. Paul's. There Hawksmoor will not only have mastered Wren's designing in stone, plaster and wood, but also have gauged the capacity and technique of the great craftsmen employed, several of whom we meet later on at Blenheim.

The "Dictionary of National Biography" tells us that at St. Paul's Hawksmoor assisted Wren soon after it was begun in 1675. That is a little previous. Hawksmoor was fourteen years old in 1675, and no one dates his entry into Wren's office until four years after that. Whether, as an apprentice, he was given anything to do in respect of the Cathedral we cannot say, but he certainly does not appear on its pay-sheets until seventeen years after the date when it was begun. Payments were made monthly, and the architectural department had, up to 1691, consisted of Sir Christopher as Surveyor-General; John Oliver, assistant surveyor; Laurence Spencer, clerk of the works; and John Russell, clerk of the cheque; their respective monthly payments on the Cathedral accounts being £16 13s. 4d., £8.6s. 8d., £8 6s. 8d. and £4 7s. 4d.; but on and after the October of that year there is added to this monthly list the following item: "To Nicholas Hawksmoor for assisting the Surveyor this month in copying of designs and other necessary business for the service of this work at 20^d p diem (being 27 days in this month) 02^l.05^s.00^d." That becomes a regular monthly entry for some twenty years. This copying of designs probably meant a translation of Wren's preliminary sketches into working drawings. There are, in the Cathedral library, two volumes mainly consisting of designs, drawings and sketches, proposed or executed, many of which are reproduced in the 1925 and 1926 volumes of the Wren Society. A study of them and of other collections of Wren drawings establishes some—although by no means complete and certain—differentiation between what he himself drew and what was done by various subordinates. We surmise that he more often sketched than drew, that he mostly left the labour of tee-square and compass, ruler and scale to assistants, and limited himself mainly to a vigorous semi-freehand treatment. That is well shown by certain preliminary drawings for Hampton Court, undoubtedly by Wren, reproduced in this year's volume of the Wren Society. Together with such sketches, the St. Paul's collection contains many painstaking and highly finished drawings, and, if we bear in mind the wording of the entries in the accounts respecting Hawksmoor, there can be little doubt that many of those dealing with the later portions of the Cathedral will be by him. One that is very interesting shows part of the west front, drawn by a careful draughtsman, and at the top of it, roughly put in in Indian ink wash, is a suggestion for one of the west towers (Fig. ii). It is a fair surmise that the lower half was done by Hawksmoor and that the suggestion for the tower on to it was washed in, perhaps, by Wren, or perhaps, indeed, by Vanbrugh, for it resembles his bold suggestive brush such as we find also in some of the sketches for the Greenwich Chapel and in at least one (Fig. xxx) of the drawings for the Clarendon Press Building. If this is so, it is a further indication of the very friendly relations that existed between the Surveyor and the Comptroller of the Office of Works.

As regards City churches, Hawksmoor's name appears in the accounts earlier than on those of the Cathedral. These churches, be it remembered, were, as far as their fabric was concerned, like the Cathedral, a national affair. They were largely financed through taxation, and paid for

by the Exchequer, and, therefore, had to have complete accounts. One set of these is at the Bodleian Library. They have been investigated lately by Mr. Goodison, and it is from his notes that the following references to Hawksmoor are taken. Beginning in 1685 and continuing till 1693, Hawksmoor received payments :

for his extraordinary paines in extracting the States of the Accounts of Parochiall Churches and fairly Engroffing the same (viz) the State of the Acc^t from 1685 unto the year 1687 being two years ; from 1687 unto the Expiration of the Act of Parliam^t 22 Car 2^d And 5 other Abstracts the last of which ended at Midsum^r 1693 and the Same were double abstracts for the Exchequer and for S^r Christopher Wrens Office in all Seaven at 5^l each 35 . 0 . 0.

He also received £10 for "transcribing and engroffing all the bookes, that containes all the bills and workmanship of ye Parochiall church & bring them to one gen^l acct for the Excheq^r," while £9 is allowed to him for "finding Ink, paper, bookes, wafers, pens, and other necessarys for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a year ending Sept 1687." From the same source we hear of a payment of £5 being made to Hawksmoor in 1696 in relation to the funeral of Queen Mary. The payment is made "for his ext^{iv} paines in copying designes by y^e direc^{cons} of S^r Christopher Wren for y^e Mausolaem in y^e Abbey & for y^e Chariott of State for y^e carrying of y^e Body of her late Maj^{ty} Mary of Bless^d Memory."

III.—Partnership

Such was Hawksmoor's position when Vanbrugh needed a capable coadjutor to carry out the Castle Howard scheme. How did that association begin, that is, how could Vanbrugh



iv.—CASTLE HOWARD : THE SOUTH, OR GARDEN, SIDE.
The termination to the west is later, and differs from that to the east.

detach Hawksmoor from Wren and yet a friendly feeling prevail? We shall see (page xxxi) that among the Greenwich Hospital drawings there is a set showing a proposal for a chapel that reveals Vanbrugh's touch, and so Mr. Arthur Bolton suggests that Vanbrugh, moving in the same society as Wren, and keen on architecture, met and made friends with the great architect in William III's time, and that the latter, interested in the young man's fine ideas, gave him the freedom of his office and facilitated his relationship with Hawksmoor. May not Wren—a generous and broad-spirited man—have seen that the qualities and defects of these two men were in the way of their achieving much alone, but promised great success in combination? This is not only an interesting surmise, but a probable one. How excellently and smoothly the combination worked we can see from the narrative of the operations at Castle Howard. From the very first Hawksmoor's position is not that of a mere assistant, but of a coadjutor, for, in 1701, he writes direct to their client as to the progress of the work. Although we cannot precisely differentiate between Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor's contributions to the finished result, we may feel certain that Vanbrugh conceived the whole plan of house, yards, forecourt, etc., as they appear in the design attributed to him in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" (page 4), and which, surely, represents his individual and bold view of mass and movement. Inside, also, the remarkable scheme of hall, stairs and galleries, with its

dramatic vistas, will be his, and, with variations, was repeated by him, as at Blenheim (Fig. 138). Such schemes have greater resemblance in material and treatment to Renaissance church interiors than any such parts of an English dwelling had previously possessed. Taking the idea from Italy, the Burlingtonians introduced stone, stucco and marble halls at Mereworth and Houghton, Holkham and Wentworth Woodhouse. But Vanbrugh was a score of years before them in this respect at Castle Howard and at Blenheim, where, from his halls, there ran dignified and dramatically arched and vaulted corridors (Figs. 28 and 29). No doubt, the decorative schemes of parlours and chambers he left mostly to the chief craftsmen he employed, or to the subordinate architects who worked with him, such as—besides Hawksmoor—Etty at Castle Howard and Seaton Delaval, and Wakefield at Duncombe and Gilling. But we certainly see his particular genius and invention boldly realised in the scenes that dramatically meet the eye when the door of the ceremonious entrance to any of his great houses is opened before us at Castle Howard (Fig. v) and at Seaton Delaval (Fig. 417).

Thus, with Vanbrugh, drama and architecture, fully fledged after a period of incubation that we know nothing of, burst from their shells simultaneously at the close of the seventeenth century. It was the same spirit, the same genius that animated them both. It may even be held that, even more than the comedies, the buildings possess the dramatic spirit and the effect of movement. They have to the full the faults as well as the excellences of such a spirit. As settings for staging a pageant of sumptuous life, as developed by the English imitators of the Court of Versailles, Castle Howard and Blenheim are most apt. As habitations for domestically inclined private people they are quite inappropriate. Spaces incredibly wasteful to the housewifely mind are of the essence of the designs of all architects who strive for the *Grand Manner*. But no Englishman was ever moved to it so boldly or was given opportunities so unreservedly as Vanbrugh. He worked not in cubic feet, but in cubic yards—nay, in cubic perches. As the mass was immense, so were the details huge. Yet, big as they were, he had a comprehensive view that could readily marshal them, could move them freely on the chess-board, and so reach the ultimate victory of an absolutely striking and satisfying composition. That was very good. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that neither in plays nor in palaces did he reach finish, polish, delicacy. The strokes of pen and of chisel were bold and sure, but a little untutored. He did not go through the patient drudgery of studying the works of previous masters of the crafts. He knew them superficially, for he belonged to an age very educated in such matters. But there was little of the student and nothing of the pedant about him. A man of action, observation will have been the principal factor in his education both as playwright and as architect. His practice of the latter was founded on it, and had his own strong opinions and inventive power as its chief materials.

No wonder if such a man, suddenly hurled into the position of a chief of the profession, agitated the architectural dovecot which was shortly to be established at Burlington House. What was there in common between John Vanbrugh and Colin Campbell—the Bolshevik and the Tory of the craft? The latter sniffed even at Wren's lapses from the fixed rules of the "*Renowned Palladio*," and his views on Vanbrugh, expressed, no doubt, to intimates, must have been far more damning than those he published on Boromini, who is branded in the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*" as having "*debauched Mankind*" with his "*Parts without Proportion, Solids without their true bearing, Heaps of Materials without Strength, excessive Ornament without Grace.*" To the majority of those who set up as critics of taste in the eighteenth century Vanbrugh was anathema. But, as we shall see later (pages lx and lxi), Robert Adam and Sir Joshua Reynolds recognised his mastery of movement and his imaginative power.

At Castle Howard "*imagination*" was somewhat held in check. For a first venture it shows an audacious originality, yet it is disciplined by some respect for authority. Vanbrugh's general knowledge of the cosmopolitan architecture of his day no doubt restrained him from going beyond its accepted rules and limits for his earliest design, and, besides, had he been anxious to kick right over the traces, it is not likely that, without any past architectural achievement behind him, he could have persuaded Carlisle and his advisory group of friends to agree to such a course. Nevertheless, the model in wood must have created what the modern Press would call a "*sensation*," when the King and his Court were having their "*thoughts upon't*" at Kensington in 1700. The scheme of a central block connected by colonnades to extensive wings thrust



V.—THE HALL AT CASTLE HOWARD.

forward on the entrance side to provide a forecourt was not new in England. Perhaps on the advice of Inigo Jones, Sir Francis Crane, Director of Mortlake Tapestries under Charles I, had used it at Stoke Bruern, his seat in Northamptonshire. Under Charles II, Eaton Hall, in Cheshire, and Ragley, in Warwickshire, were carried out on this plan. But the former has been engulfed by nineteenth century Gothic, and the latter has lost its wings and forecourt arrangement. Vanbrugh's experience of such planning will have been founded on numerous French examples, and he adopted it for Castle Howard on a scale not hitherto attempted in England.

Lord Carlisle and Vanbrugh must have seen almost eye to eye in architecture. They remained close friends throughout the latter's life, and from the first the great lord did all he could to advance the prospects of the rising architect. While he was at the head of the Treasury he appointed Vanbrugh to the Comptrollership of Works in succession to Talman, and so keen was he to multiply Vanbrugh's offices that in the following year he imposed him upon the College of Heralds. Carlisle was then acting as Deputy Marshal during the minority of the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, and when Sir Harry St. George vacated the post of Clarenceux to occupy that of Garter in 1703, Carlisle decided that Vanbrugh should have the former place. There was an uproar. Gregory King, who had spent all his life in the science and practice of heraldry, had been for a quarter of a century a member of the College, and had a clear right to the succession. He was set aside, and a half-forgotten subsidiary post was revived for Vanbrugh to hold awhile in order to qualify as a King of Arms. A hundred years later Mark Noble was still feeling the reverberation of the shock, and brands Carlisle as reprehensible "in sacrificing the duty he owed to private attachment" felt towards a man who "was totally ignorant of the profession of heraldry and genealogy," and had, indeed, ridiculed it in his comedy of "*Æsop*." In a letter to Jacob Tonson, Vanbrugh gives a racy account of his being "Touch'd a herald," after "a great deal of Saucy Opposition," in July, 1703. Carlisle was away in Yorkshire, and so—

L^d Elsex was left Deputy to do the feat which he did with a whole Bowle of wine about my ears instead of half a Spoonfull. He at the same time crown'd Old S^r Harry, Garter, and King was upon the Spot Suspended which the rest seeing, renounc'd him, Own'd he drew 'em into Rebellion, and declar'd him a Son of a —.

In the same letter to Tonson, Vanbrugh reports progress as to the theatre that he was starting to build in this year, 1703. The acquisition of the site was being completed when, in July, he wrote :

The ground is the second Stable Yard going up the Haymarket, I give 2000. for it, but have lay'd such a Scheme of matters, that I shall be reimburs'd every penny of it, by the Spare ground ; but this is a Secret lest they shou'd lay hold on't to lower the Rent. I have drawn a design for the whole disposition of the inside, very different from any Other House in being, but I have the good fortune to have it absolutely approv'd by all that have seen it.

The first stone was laid in the following spring by Lady Sunderland, widow of the second earl. She had been one of the "Beauties" of Charles II's Court painted by Lely, and a special favourite of Evelyn. A year later the theatre was completed. It opened on April 9th with an opera, the prologue having been written by Doctor Garth, who, in reference to Lady Sunderland's laying the foundation stone, alluded to the theatre as "By beauty founded and by wit designed." The "wit" of Vanbrugh, however, although it may have conceived a theatre "very different" from all others, was not of a practical nature. Architecturally, no doubt, it was arresting, but neither acoustics nor line of sight had been considered. It was a financial failure, so that Congreve and twenty-nine other men of the fashionable world, who had subscribed most of the capital, many of them Kit-Cats, lost money as well as Vanbrugh. In 1708 it was let on lease to McSwinney, but meanwhile it had seen the production of several of Vanbrugh's adaptations from the French, such as "*The Confederacy*," first performed in October, 1705, and described as "the most vivacious of Vanbrugh's pieces," while "*The Mistake*," which followed in a few weeks, is said to show "signs of hasty workmanship." That we cannot wonder at, for the foundation stone of the new palace at Woodstock had been laid in the previous June.

Blenheim was fought and won in the summer of 1704, and the grateful Queen and Parliament jointly decided that the victorious general should be rewarded with a fine estate and great house. Thus, the Royal demesne of Woodstock (where Henry II's fair Rosamond had had her bower) passed to the Duke of Marlborough, and we learn from a Royal Warrant, signed by Lord Treasurer Godolphin in June, 1705, that at the special instance of the duke, Vanbrugh was appointed

architect and surveyor to the new building, which, otherwise, would have been in the hands of Wren as Chief Surveyor of the Works.

Vanbrugh's conception of Blenheim was that of a monument much more than of a house. It was to mark for all time in most imposing manner the achievements of a man who had reached the pinnacle of European celebrity, and had raised his country to unexpected heights of glory and power by astounding feats of arms. No doubt, the poor man and his family would have to live there, but he must suffer the penalties of his position, and comfort must give way to splendour. Vanbrugh could approach the job with complete light-heartedness. He was to have all the joy of creating, but not the burden of inhabiting, the monument, as to which, when it approached completion fourteen years later, he wrote to Tonson :

One may find a great deal of Pleasure in building a Palace for an other ; when one shou'd find very little in living in't ones Self.

Thus, while adopting the same general plan as at Castle Howard, it was increased not merely in size, but in imposing presence and weighty dignity. Blenheim is a great and serious drama, with no touch of comedy in any of its details. Not only must they not be trivial, but they must derive their origin not so much from the graceful forms of classic art as from the solid and practical engines of war. Cannon balls and bombs quite as much as statues and vases enter into the massive enrichment of parapet and tower. Here, as at Castle Howard, Hawksmoor worked with Vanbrugh, not as an assistant, but on terms of equality and friendship : that we gather from Vanbrugh's letters to Boulter and Joynes (joint comptrollers of the works at Blenheim). Thus, Vanbrugh writes to Boulter in 1707 as to certain points under consideration : " Mr. Hawksmoor is of my opinion," and again " my opinion (and Mr. Hawksmoors) is this." An interesting letter written by Vanbrugh to Joynes in 1706 throws light upon who acted as Vanbrugh's draughtsman :

If you have with you my Lord Carlisle's Papers, You'll oblige me to draw the Two Fronts, pretty exact they being for the Engraver to work from, As for the Ornaments on the Top, with the Chimneys on the Main Pile, and the Cupola, I'll get M^r Hawksmoor to Add them here, for I believe you have not the last Designs of 'em.

This seems to show that Vanbrugh's sketches were first put into form by Hawksmoor, but further copies and, perhaps, working plans were made by such lesser lights of the Office of Works as Joynes.

The extent to which Vanbrugh relied on Hawksmoor and Hawksmoor on Vanbrugh is not very clear, and will probably remain a matter of opinion. Mr. Goodhart Rendel, in a little sketch on Hawksmoor that he contributed to the " Masters of Architecture " series, is quite positive that " Hawksmoor could do without Vanbrugh a great deal more than Vanbrugh could do without Hawksmoor." That may have been true in 1699, but as there is no record that Hawksmoor helped Vanbrugh in his later work, such as at Eastbury and Kings Weston, Seaton Delaval and Grimsthorpe, and as these examples of his mature style are generally held to be the finest work he did, we may conclude that experience taught him not only to conceive, but to direct the execution of these distinctive examples of his style. And, again, is Mr. Goodhart Rendel justified in seeking to give Hawksmoor a place as " one of the greatest masters of modern architecture " ? Was he not an incomparable assistant rather than an originating genius ? Even his son-in-law, Blackersley, who wrote an account of him soon after his death in 1736, does not claim the latter quality for him. He praises his knowledge of the history of architecture and of all famous buildings, both ancient and modern, and he lays stress upon his excellence as a draughtsman. That implies a high degree of training and an abundance of information ; it does not suggest creative qualities. He may have had a tendency to develop a more massive style than Wren, but would he ever have realised such a style had he remained with Wren and not come under the commanding personality of Vanbrugh ? It was original to Vanbrugh to conceive and realise a remarkable combination of mass and movement as the preponderating and basic principle of an English phase of classic architecture. Although, among his contemporaries, only Hawksmoor fell completely under his influence, and may be described as a conscious disciple, yet it is certainly arguable that Vanbrugh's influence was really widespread, and affected even the Burlingtonians. It is true that, with their worship of Palladio and their rather pedantic clinging to Vitruvian precepts, they may have shuddered at his baroque

forms and been contemptuous of his unlearnedness, yet their output shows more kinship with him than with Wren, so that the "heavy load" of Vanbrugh is followed by the "heavy hand" of Kent.

IV.—The Kit-Cat Club

Where Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor were not associated their sphere of work generally differed; for, while Hawksmoor, as we shall see, was principally engaged on public buildings, Vanbrugh's architectural practice was largely concerned with the building or alteration of country seats, for it was closely connected and, indeed, largely grew out of his social position. The first part of his professional career was synchronous with the halcyon days of the Kit-Cat Club. Great as was its renown for a dozen years or so from 1703, its origin is obscure. Probably, but not certainly, it was started by Jacob Tonson, the publisher (Fig. vi), about 1688 as a non-political dining club where he could meet men of letters, the first place of meeting being at the Sign of the Cat and Fiddle in Shire Lane, where mine host, Kit, was famed for his mutton pies. The first documentary evidence of its existence, however, occurs in the already quoted Vanbrugh



vi.—JACOB TONSON, FROM THE KIT-CAT PORTRAIT NOW AT BAYFORDBURY.

letter of 1703. Tonson was adding on to his suburban house at Barn Elms a room where he could not only invite the forty-eight members to dine, but also hang their portraits on its walls; the portraits to be painted by Godfrey Kneller and to be half-lengths of sufficiently moderate size for the room to hold them. That special size became popular and received the name of the club. In July of this year Tonson is away on publishing business in Holland, and on the 13th Vanbrugh writes to him the letter—quite the best written and most easy to read of those that survive—of which the first sheets are reproduced (Fig. vii). He tells us that—

I have spok with Carpenter Johns, and when you come over, all will be ready for business in a few days. S^r Godfrey has got a house near Hampton Court, and is eternally there; he has reduc'd that in Towne to a Lodging to save Charges. We shall get nothing finish'd there till you come: the Kit Catt too, will never meet without you, so you see here's a generall Stagnation for want of you.

Kneller's house thus referred to was the one at Whitton that Vanbrugh had just built for him, and of which portions still stand. The club at this time consisted of few authors, that is, of only Congreve, Steel and Addison besides Vanbrugh, but of a whole host of Whig magnates, several of whom, like Walpole, Stanhope and Newcastle, were to be Prime Ministers. It also included quite a bevy of dukes and earls, and their chief physician and occasional poet, Doctor Garth. Vanbrugh's breezy wit made him a favourite, so that Tonson and Pope, as Spence afterwards relates, agreed that—

Garth, Vanbrugh and Congreve were the three most honest-hearted, real good men, of the poetical members of the Kit-cat club.

Of the peers who were members, at least five—the Dukes of Marlborough, Manchester and Newcastle, the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Cobham of Stowe—employed Vanbrugh professionally, and we know from his surviving letters that he was also their welcome visitor and correspondent. Even the redoubtable Duchess Sarah of Marlborough was, at first, on cordial terms with him. As late as 1715 he acts as go-between in the negotiations for the prospective marriage of her granddaughter, Lady Henrietta Godolphin, with the Duke of Newcastle; and when they have quarrelled over this and other matters, Vanbrugh tells her that it was

"on her own motion and her own desire" that he has undertaken the mission, but he is only too glad not to be "further employ'd in this matter; for a Matchmakers is a Dam'd Trade, And I never was fond of Meddling with Other Peoples Affairs." Moreover—together with his trusted secretary and his financial adviser—the Duke of Marlborough asks Vanbrugh to witness the will he made before going abroad after his disgrace in 1712. Vanbrugh's note on the subject is as follows:

November y^e 10th 1712. Mem^d: this day, the Duke of Marlborough (upon his Design to travel,) made a new Will, which he executed at St. James's. M^r Cardonel, M^r Cragge and my Self, saw him Sign, seal, declare and publish it, and afterwards Sign'd it as Witnesses in his Presence, with a Codicil. The Duke at the Same time, burn'd his former will, cancell'd a former Deed, and executed a new one. The will consists of fourteen Sheets, every one of which the Duke sign'd.

J Vanbrugh

With regard to the Duke of Manchester, we have seen that Vanbrugh's earliest surviving letter was written to him. The duke—or earl, as he then was—is in Paris, and Vanbrugh writes him at length on recent events in the London world of society, drama, and music, as well as referring, as already quoted, to the initial stages of the Castle Howard scheme. In Vanbrugh's letters to Carlisle himself there is less about the architecture of the house and environment than about social and political matters, and the same holds good of his correspondence with another ducal client, his Grace of Newcastle. For Manchester Vanbrugh repaired and altered Kimbolton (page 113). Although this mediæval home of the Mandevilles had been altered, especially within its quadrangle, by the earl, some score of years previously, yet the outer walls remained antiquated and even decayed. Considerable re-building became necessary in 1707, for which an architect named Coleman gave plans. Vanbrugh was asked to advise on these, and in July went down there to consider what should be done, taking Hawksmoor with him to help to solve the problem. A new centre to the south front, permitting of "a large noble room of parade," and on the east side, a huge portico, not very successfully embedded in the rest of the building, were the leading features of Vanbrugh's alterations. Here, too, he exhibited his hankering after mediæval touches, which led a few years later to the Castle Howard battlemented park walls with towers and bastions (Figs. 87 to 89). Of course, his work at Kimbolton must be "regular," *i.e.*, classic in line and proportion; yet, as it was a castle and retained somewhat of its old substance and general form, he decided that it was "absolutely best to give it something of the castle air," and so adopted a crenellated outline for the whole, circuit of the exterior roof parapet. Although he took a fully baroque conception of architecture yet he used it in his own way and was both individual and native. He was strongly moved to enlarge the units and to give movement, that is, a flowing outline to the whole grouping. Michelangelo and other Italians had long before reached this as sculptors, as students of the human form; but Vanbrugh had an eye also to the England of old, *i.e.*, to Gothic forms. Although post-Restoration leaders of taste preached that Gothic and barbarous were synonymous terms, yet the Gothic spirit never absolutely died in England. Under late Tudors and early Stuarts it had formed a partnership with the classic, but at first the latter was merely incidental, and old structural features—the gable, the external chimney-stack, and the mullioned window—were continued till the middle of the seventeenth century. Mediæval forms were encouraged by Laud for ecclesiastical work, and—while, for most purposes, leaning more and more to the classic side—Howards and Cavendishes could favour, as an exception and a plaything, the castle work at Lulworth and at Bolsover. John Smithson, who began the conversion of the latter from a real to a fancy stronghold for Sir Charles Cavendish under James I, formed a main pile and courtyard outliers, on a small scale indeed, and yet a good deal in the manner afterwards developed by Vanbrugh. The "little castle" there is a sort of toy Seaton Delaval, but has battlements and other Gothic touches sprinkled here and there with the "Italian" windows and balconies that Smithson affected. Under Charles I his son, Huntingdon, in much the same manner but on an extended scale, built the huge but now ruinous south building with the great riding school at right angles to it. He gave them something of the hugeness of parts that Vanbrugh favoured, while retaining much of the Early Renaissance forms. He was, probably, an untravelled man, working almost entirely for one client—the Cavendish who became first Earl and then Duke of Newcastle. He, therefore, does not betray the strong Italian tendencies of an Inigo Jones, and his work at Bolsover and at Nottingham Castle were on traditional lines, but the work of an original artist whose type of mind in some measure descended to Vanbrugh. But Vanbrugh belonged to a different age

and a different environment. Travel and social relations developed his mind and gave it cosmopolitan knowledge and a broad horizon.

At the same time the increasing interest in pictures was having an effect on the connoisseurs of the time, among them Vanbrugh. The popularity of the baroque, as exemplified by Carlo Dolci, Guido Reni, Coreggio, the Caracci, encouraged the Grand Manner in the arts. Simultaneously, Claude, Salvator Rosa, the Poussins and Italianising Dutchmen, such as Berghem and Both, were awakening English eyes to a new appreciation of natural scenery. As yet the number of connoisseurs was small, but the alert and intelligent men who composed the Kit-Cat Club were among the earliest of them. Addison and Pope gave an impetus to a more "picturesque" style of gardening. And in Vanbrugh the group possessed an architect who could give his designs both the splendour and "movement" of the Grand Manner and the romantic quality of the buildings on Claude's or the Poussins' canvases. Pictures and his natural bias towards the romantic combined to direct Vanbrugh's eyes towards the old architecture of England—castles, ruins and the work of the Smithsons. Accordingly, although the prevalent and all-conquering classic dogma possessed him, yet it did not altogether quell the old native spirit which was constantly

London. July 9th 1703

I had a letter from you yesterday which I rec^d just as I was sitting down to dinner with my Lord Halifax and Congress. I showed it em, and we drank your health, and quick return, but gave some hard words to your Book, since it rob^s us so long of your company. We remembered you too the night before at Hampton Court, as we were sipping our Chate in the Fountain for you must know we have got some warm weather at last—a Week ago I was in fear still, and so were most folks: but the Farmers are like to be all undone for all that, for in spite of this banking ill Season. They are likely to have a hanging Crop at last, terrible complaints they make about it: they don't say twill produce a famine, but they say twill ruin the Nation. I have not seen Neighbour Burgess lately, but I intend to go suddenly and console with him upon it. I have speak with Carpenter Johns, and when you come over, all will be ready for business in a few days. J^r Godfrey has got a house near Hampton Court, and is eternally there; he has reduced that in Town to a Lodging house (Chapin). We shall get nothing finished there till you come: the Kirk too, will never meet without you, so you see have a general Magnation for want of you.

My Lord Halifax bid me tell you, he set out this fortnight for his Northern Progress: I shall move after him in ten days. J^r Kingston is lately gone. J^r Marshall has been there with his family these three weeks, and writes me word he has near 200 men at Work: there's a new Quarry found, much better than the Old one, so all go^s on smooth. He stayed in Towns ago while about our Herald's business, there was a great deal of Faucy Opposition, but my J^r Treasurer set the Queen right, and I have accordingly been. Sold a Herald Extraordinary, in Order to be asking at Windsor. J^r Essex was left Deputy to do the feat which he did with an whole Bunch of rams about my ears in the of half a Spoonfull. He at the same time crown'd O^d Harry. Carter. And King was upon the spot suspended which the w^{re} seeing. ~~Some~~ wound him. Which drew em into Rebellion, and declar'd him a son of a Whore.

This (Coke of Arms you mention) I'll send you.

J^r Essex has been at Cashibury this fortnight, with Lady Hamior Vear. Dr. Kirk and Dormer. What if he should break into the Candle too at last, at Church and others have done before him. Other folks would wonder at it, but

vii.—TWO PAGES OF VANBRUGH'S LETTER TO TONSON OF JULY 13TH, 1703.

breaking out. It made him, for instance, sympathetic to Huntingdon Smithson's treatment of Nottingham Castle, which he specially recommended to the Duke of Newcastle of his day, and where he made additions and alterations, classic indeed, but by no means unsympathetic to what he found. More than once he seeks to save an old building, such as the Royal Manor of Woodstock (page 82) and the Holbein Gate in London. But he will not allow such to interfere with the full realisation of a different conception; and, as a grand new country seat on the Italian *palazzo* basis was to be erected for Lord Carlisle at Henderskelfe, it was agreed that every vestige of old English village life—castle, church and dependents' homes—should be swept away. There Vanbrugh even insists that an important garden building in view of the house should be a classic temple and not of the "Gothick Sort." Anything so rough and fanciful must be farther away, and, as already mentioned, was developed as the leading feature of the park enclosure, where it would certainly strike a historic note and give an ancestral touch to the old Dacre and Howard domain. Then, again, the same spirit might prevail in lesser works as a mere play of fancy. A towered and turreted villa (Fig. 268) was amusing for his own use in his rural retreat at Greenwich. Moreover, if no Gothic forms were proper in a great classic grouping such as Blenheim, yet it stood for the great national monument of the great national hero. He called it a castle, gave

it features akin to a central keep—outlying towers, and the spread of great enclosed baileys—so that it should have a national flavour, although classic symmetry must prevail, and a full Roman manner must mark the details of the broken outline.

The same leaning towards Gothic outlines, but classic details, will be found in much that Vanbrugh did for Newcastle at Claremont—such, for instance, as the four-towered belvedere (Fig. 237), and the bastioned garden walls (Fig. 236). Vanbrugh's first recorded work for Newcastle was at the great town house—still standing at the north-west corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields—which the Marquess of Powis had scarcely completed when he followed James II into exile, and which, under William III became the town house of Lord Chancellor Somers. From him it passed to Thomas Lord Pelham, who, having inherited much of the vast property of John Holles, Earl of Clare and Duke of Newcastle, was given the earldom in 1714 and the dukedom in August, 1715. In the February of that year Vanbrugh reports that the men at work on what was soon to be known as Newcastle House, "Appear'd to me a Swarm of Bees," and assures the earl—as he still was—that he will be in it in a month's time "if the Upholsterer do's his part." In the same year Vanbrugh sells him the house that he had built for himself on a very picturesque area of broken ground in the parish of Esher, and which, from his earldom and its natural features, the new owner re-christened Claremont. The correspondence between the duke and Vanbrugh continues until the end of the latter's life, and several of the surviving letters deal with what may be called the crisis years of the Office of Works.

V.—Comptroller of the Works

We have seen that in 1702 Vanbrugh became Comptroller of the Works in place of Talman, between whom and Wren there had been much friction over the building of Hampton Court. It will have been a welcome change to the head of the Office, who appears to have worked as pleasantly with Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor as they did with each other. Even Marlborough's desire that the Comptroller and not the Surveyor should be in charge of Blenheim does not seem to have cast any shadow over their intercourse. It is noticeable that after 1702 Vanbrugh's individual touch begins to appear in buildings under the Office of Works. There is a difference of feel—a distinct passage from the graceful and light to the massive and imposing—between the main building at Kensington, dating from before 1694, and the Orangery which dates from 1704. At both periods Hawksmoor was clerk of the works and will have been in charge of erection. Did the surveyor entirely reserve the designing for himself? In the main lines of the exterior and the whole of the interior we may fully recognise Wren's manner, as also in the brickwork—a material that Wren loved and handled exquisitely, but which Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor were prone to avoid where possible. Yet the Orangery has a tendency towards the general solidity and the simplification of ornament that we recognise as Vanbrugh's characteristic, and which equally marks Hawksmoor's work after he fell under Vanbrugh's influence. It shows particularly in the central portion of the front (Fig. viii), where the weight of material, the rustication or ringing of the columns and the form of the pediment resemble so much of what they afterwards did, working together or apart. Did Wren merely give the general lines of the Orangery and leave the details to the others? Or was there, in the air, as the eighteenth century opened, a feeling in favour of massiveness that wholly seized upon Vanbrugh from his first entrance into the architectural field, and which even obtained some hold upon Wren during the closing years of his career? It becomes characteristic of all early Georgian work, for we not only see it in Vanbrugh's individual rendering of the baroque, but also in the "regular" Palladianism of the Burlingtonian School.

If it was in any measure affecting Wren, that would, in part, account for the friendship and sympathy between two men whom we look upon as seeing classic architecture from decidedly differing angles, and who, although both enjoying the same social position, were in opposite political camps. Certain it is that, so far as its *personnel* was concerned, the Office of Works enjoyed a period of considerable internal tranquillity from Vanbrugh's appointment until the very end of the period of Wren's surveyorship. Yet there was so marked a difference in the attitude of the two towards the abuses that had crept into the Office that it might well have

produced some coolness between them. Wren was an old hand who had gone through years of political and Governmental trafficking. Straight himself, he, nevertheless, winked at the peccadilloes of his subordinates. Not so Vanbrugh. He came in as a new broom to cleanse the Augean stables. We find him, in November 1704, writing to Lord Godolphin as to the actions of Benjamin Jackson, master mason at the Office of Works, who, instead of acting as guardian of the interests of the Office by his oversight of the craftsmen employed, was found to be doing the work himself and to his own profit. Vanbrugh had already brought to the notice of the Treasury the "shamefull abuse" of various people of the Board "who rec'd Sallarys from the Queen to prevent her being imposed on by Others," and yet were doing the work themselves. He had "made severall attempts upon S^r Ch^r Wren" to get him to redress the abuse, but had failed in this, and now found that Jackson was carrying on his former practice. He thereupon, in his usual outspoken manner, gave Lord Godolphin his opinion of the master mason:

As for Jackson my Lord, Besides this Crime, the highest the nature of his Office will admit of, I must acquaint your L^dship He is so villainous a Fellow and so Scandalous in every part of his character; and that in the Unanimous opinion of all Sorts of People he is known to; that he is indeed a disgrace to the Queens Service and to everybody that is oblig'd to be concern'd with him.

Not much good came of this action, Jackson was merely dismissed for a time, and, after his reappointment, he continued his former practices. On the whole, however, the work of the Office went on well and smoothly, and the only disturbance came from outside opinions. Thus, the removal of Vanbrugh from the comptrollership in 1712 was purely a move of the *Tory* Ministers as punishment for the decided attitude he adopted in favour of Marlborough and of the continuation of the works at Blenheim under the Harley-Bolingbroke Ministry. As he himself puts it, he "had the misfortune of being turn'd out of his Place of Comptroller of the Works and losing that of Garter by offending the Queen on the Duke's account." The loss of the latter office was permanent, for the Queen granted the reversion of the headship of the Heralds' College to Anstis, and he duly succeeded as Garter, Vanbrugh remaining Clarenceux. But as regards the Office of Works, Vanbrugh was reinstated when George I came to the throne and made Vanbrugh a knight. The Office of Works then continued awhile on an amiable and effective footing, Hawksmoor being appointed its Clerk by Carlisle, who, during part of 1715, again held the office of First Lord of the Treasury. In 1718, however, there came a revolution. Except for Wren, the Board was now composed of Whigs or of Whig nominees. Dartiquenave, the Paymaster, was a Kit-Cat, Brigadier Watkins, Surveyor of the Roads, was befriended and employed by the Duke of Newcastle. Yet the displacing by the Whig Ministry of old Sir Christopher Wren to effect a political job involved other members of the Board as well, and for a very considerable time brought it into the state of chaos which we find duly chronicled and freely criticised by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor in their correspondence. William Benson—son of a man who had made money in the City and sent him to Italy, where he acquired the fashionable love of art and architecture—bought a Wiltshire estate, and thereon erected a house "invented and built by himself in the style of Inigo Jones," as Colin Campbell describes it in the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*." He made serious inroads into his inherited fortune, and being an active Whig the Ministry felt that they must do something for him. One of two valuable sinecures, either the Auditorship of the Imprests or of Foreign Accounts, was what he had his eye on, but, as in 1718 neither of these was vacant and some paid post was pressing, Wren was pushed out of the Office to put Benson in, until, as his warrant of appointment strangely adds, "he should accept of some other office or place." He appointed Colin Campbell his deputy, and, as his nephew was equally eager for emolument, Hawksmoor was displaced from the clerkship and the younger Benson put in. Were the changes to stop there? Vanbrugh evidently feared not, and that his own position was threatened. He seeks help from Carlisle and Newcastle, writing to the latter on August 30th that he has failed to wait on him, partly from being out of health, but mainly because—

I am Stopt by Such a Turn of Our Board, as sets us at Our Witts end; And what the result of it will be, I can't tell. Tho' my L^d. Sun^d : has been so good to me, as to Assure me of the Utmost of his Friendship: And indeed I am far from having the least doubt of his good Intentions to me. I fear only those same Letters de Cachet, that Surprise folks every now and then.

A little later he again writes to the same correspondent :

My Lord Duke,

The Treasury has Order'd the State of the Expences of the Works to be examin'd, And I am doing all I can in the World, to get it done time enough to be laid before the King before he go's ; which Sure will give him an Other Notion of my management in that Board than he has at present.

I am likewise preparing a Plain intelligible paper for him, by which he'll see, how the Expence arises to about £33000 p an^m. And by this paper he'll likewise See That if the Contract had gone on with Benson, he had not sav'd him one Shilling ; So Vilely did that Gen^l: Impose upon the Treasury, by giving in false Accounts of every thing. I am Your Graces ever Obed^t & most Oblig'd humble Serv^t.

J. Vanbrugh.

From Castle Howard, in the following January, he lets Newcastle know that—

I have a wild strange Acc^t: of the rout my Friend and Superiour Officer Benson, makes at The Treasury. I find poor Dartignonne scar'd out of his Wits about a Memoriall given in by Campbell and Benson the Young to decry the Managements of former Boards, and exalt this precious New One.



viii.—THE CENTRE OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE ORANGERY AT KENSINGTON PALACE.

The Benson *régime*, however, was of short duration. We get a glimpse of its *personnel* in the summer of 1719, when Newcastle, who was Lord Chamberlain, writes to the Office of Works that the King wishes the “ new building ” at Kensington proceeded with, and the Office replies with an estimate of £5,877, which is signed by Benson, Vanbrugh, Dartiquenave and Watkins. In the following year, however, Benson got into trouble by reporting that the House of Lords was in danger of collapse—which a more careful survey proved to be quite a false alarm, but, fortunately for him, one of the coveted sinecures fell vacant. Not Vanbrugh, however, but Thomas Hewet, the Surveyor of Woods, was put at the head of the Office of Works, as we know from Vanbrugh's letter to Newcastle of August 6th, 1719 :

I rec'd your Graces Commands of the 3^d. M^r Bensons Reign ended next day. But M^r Hewets Patent not being yet past (tho' passing) we have no Board.

The report had been current that Benson had suggested Thornhill as his successor, and this enrages Vanbrugh, who declares—

Twou'd be a pleasant Joke to the World, to See a Painter made Surveyor of the Works, in Order to Save money ; When all the Small knowledge or tast they ever have of it, is only in the Great expensive part, As Collumns, Arches,

Bass reliefs &c which they just learn enough of, to help fill up their Pictures. But to think, that Such a Volatile Gentleman as Thornhill, Shou'd turn his thoughts & Application to the duty of a Surveyors business, is a Monstruous project. I'm told, (besides the Dutchess of Marl^b) there's something come from Abroad in favour of it, which is reckon'd the way Benson has work't, And 'tis Supposed is to have money for it himself from Thornhill as well, as to get Some, for Somebody else.

Vanbrugh's vexation probably arose less from the reasons he gives than because Thornhill, whose Apotheosis of Marlborough covers the ceiling of the Blenheim hall, had retained Duchess Sarah's favour, while Vanbrugh had lost it.

Vanbrugh, seeing that he himself had no chance, appears to have favoured the appointment of Hewet, the latter promising to reappoint Hawksmoor. But in September he tells Newcastle that—

having some late reason to apprehend, M^r Hewet (after ten thousand Assurances to me, of his Friendship to him) may endeavour to promote an Acquaintance of his, at his expence : I cannot help being mov'd with a good deal of Resentment, that I shou'd meet with no better a return, to the pains your Lordship knows I have taken, to procure his being Survey^r :

I must therefore beg leave to Apply to your L^dships Friendship and Support on this Occasion, That I may not Appear so low, and Inconsiderate to all about me as I must do, if they See he may treat me, with so little Regard,

I don't in the least desire to invade or Clip, the Rights of his Office, And therefore do own, when a Clarkship of the Works falls, 'tis in him to put in another with the Approbation of the Board. And he has accordingly, already Supply'd One Vacancy, with a very Vile Fellow. But this is not the present Case. Here is no Vacancy, but what the King or Treasury shall please to make, by removing those Clarks, M^r Benson (by a trick alone) got in, And who are no ways qualified to continue.

I therefore hope, your L^dship will think it wou'd be very hard those Men (M^r Hawksmoor especially) so Unjustly turn'd out by Benson ; shou'd have the double Misfortune of being kept out by him who Succeeds him. Especially, when it is consider'd they were planted there, Not by S^r Chris^r Wren, but by the Kings Express Sign Manual.

If any of them have forfeited his Favour I shall not become their Advocate. All they ask of me, to Interceed for, is, That if they are Accus'd of any thing ; they may have the Common Justice of being heard.

My Lord, the reason I have to fear, M^r Hewet will not Stir to protect them, (that he may have the Introducing of Others) makes me take the Liberty of Laying this Short State of their Case before you, To which, I will only add : That if M^r Hewet sees, I have not Credit enough, to prevail in Such a Point I shall have a very Scurvy time with him : But I hope your Lordship will not let me have that weight to the rest of my ill Fortune.

Hewet, however, has his own way, and it is only after both Vanbrugh and Hewet die, in 1726, that Carlisle succeeds in re-establishing Hawksmoor in the post he so much longed to resume. To coach Carlisle on the subject Hawksmoor wrote a memorandum, which shows little of that "extreme courtesy" which the "Dictionary of National Biography" tells us was exhibited in all Hawksmoor's correspondence. The worm could turn, and when Benson and Hewet are his theme his language is almost as racy and decisive as that of Vanbrugh himself. He speaks of—

that reptile knight, Hewet, who kept me out for nothing but to plunder the officer he put in my place, of all his principal emoluments, and put 'em in his owne pocket leaving his sayd tool to starve, and the proper buiness of his office neglected.

He explains that Benson

in extream Need of an employment could find nothing at that time but y^e Office of Works to fall upon, so disguifing himself under the pretence of an architect, got himself made Surveyour Generall.

And, moreover, declares that he—

got more in one year (for confounding y^e Kings Works) than S^r Chris Wren did in 40 years for his honest endeavours.

VI.—Greenwich Hospital

Of all the Government buildings wherein Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor were jointly concerned, none was more important or absorbed more of their attention than Greenwich Hospital. Charles II fond of beginning, but not of finishing, palaces—started to convert the old Thames-side Royal residence of the Tudors into a Late Renaissance building. John Webb was set to work, and the north-west end was erected. There, however, the matter stopped until William and Mary decided to turn it into a Naval hospital, on the same lines as that founded by Charles II at Chelsea for Army pensioners. A patent, dated October 25th, 1694, gave for such purpose "a parcell of our Mannor of East Greenwich" containing some eight acres, together with "all that messuage lately built or in building by our royall uncle King Charles II and still remaining unfinished, commonly called by the name of our Palace at Greenwich." Commissioners were appointed, who, in the following year, decided that King Charles's building might be arranged to hold two or three hundred seamen "if an additionall building should be erected on its west side." This must mean the "new bass-building" of which the first stone was laid by

John Evelyn, Treasurer to the Hospital, in 1696 (B in plan, Fig. xiv). Two years later we find that a great extension of the scheme was decided on. Wren offered his services free of charge, and submitted plans for buildings (E) lying south of the King Charles block, and by 1703 the shell of the hall, with its dome, was complete. It was also decided to erect a block to balance the King Charles building, forming the eastern side of a huge court (c). There are surviving letters and memoranda relating to the work of this time, and they have recently been transcribed by Mr. Goodison. The earliest which he has found runs as follows:

Tenders for Materials & Workmanship.

1696. June 4. Letters from John Scarborough to Mr Vanbrugh giving names of various persons requested to tender for materials or workmanship in building Greenwich Hospital for Seamen.

<i>Lime Burners</i> :—	Wood, Rich ^d . Steeres, Tho ^s .
<i>Brick Makers</i> :—	Goodwin, Cap ^t Nicholas. Sadler, John. Lacy, John.
<i>Bricklayers</i> :—	Hewes, Thomas. Phillips, John. Billinghurst, Rich ^d .
<i>Masons</i> :—	Hill, Thos. Strong, Edw ^d . Crooke, John.

The Vanbrugh mentioned is not John, but his relation, William, who, on Evelyn's recommendation, had been appointed Secretary to the Commission.

Three years later all is ready for beginning the eastern block, and tenders are asked for in the following terms:

The Commiffioners for building Greenwich Hospital intending to proceed upon the Stone Work of the East Wing, exactly answerable in Work and Materials to that built by Charles II on the West side of the Great Court, upon the Foundations already begun; Do invite any Mafons of Approved Skill in City or Country, to make Propofitions, and leave the same in writing sealed up, with their Secretary Mr Vanbrugh, at his Lodging in Duke street. Weftminster.

Thus, this part of the work done under Wren's surveyorship answers to that which Webb had devised (Fig. x); while the hall, chapel (G) and colonnade (F) show Wren's individual hand, although he may not have discouraged the initiative of his fellow-officials, Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor. There is, indeed, reason to believe that there was discussion and the expression of varying views as to the character and disposition of the new buildings, and that Vanbrugh urged the placing of a chapel between the colonnades towards their south end. In the Soane



ix.—GREENWICH HOSPITAL: THE WEST PORTICO OF VANBRUGH'S BUILDING.



x.—GENERAL VIEW SOUTH, UP THE CENTRE.



xi.—THE WEST SIDE OF THE CHARLES II BLOCK.



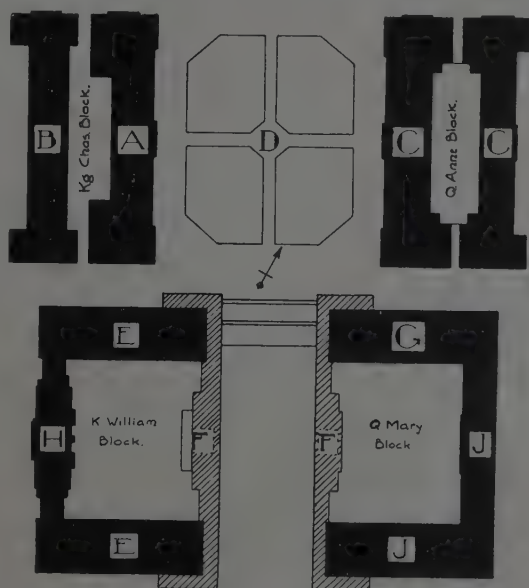
xii.—THE WEST SIDE OF THE KING WILLIAM BLOCK.
Probably designed by Vanbrugh after he became surveyor to the Hospital in 1716.



xiii.—THE CENTRE OF THE WEST SIDE OF VANBRUGH'S BUILDING.

Museum there is a set of drawings for such a building ; and at the Victoria and Albert Museum there are tracings of them by Richardson, which are held to be Vanbrugh's plans and elevations for his suggested hospital chapel. Both the character and Indian ink wash treatment of the originals substantiate this view, strongly held by Mr. Arthur Bolton, who has written on the subject, and sets the drawings down as dating from 1702, when Vanbrugh became Comptroller at the Office of Works. Apart from the hospital, Greenwich attracted him, so that on the heights just outside the north-east boundary of the park he acquired land, in about 1717, and erected several houses, one of which was his own "Castle" (Fig. 268). Hawksmoor, after he became clerk of the works at the hospital, in 1698, and still more when he was advanced to be its deputy surveyor in 1705, often dated his letters from Greenwich, and there he built from his own design the first of the six London churches for which he was responsible under the Queen Anne Act for building fifty of them. St. Alphege, Greenwich, is, in many ways, the most complete and typical, and is certainly the least tampered with, of this group of six (Fig. xlix).

The suggestive sketches for the new hospital buildings that bear the stamp of Vanbrugh's brain and hand are especially concerned with the scheme to erect a chapel—not set behind the east range of the colonnade,



xiv.—GREENWICH HOSPITAL: SKETCH PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL BLOCKS.

A, Webb's building for Charles II, 1664; B, the "Bass-building," begun by Wren 1696, much altered since; C, C, Wren's building, matching Webb's, begun 1698; D, statue of George II, by Rysbrach; E, E, painted hall and other buildings, begun by Wren 1698; F, F, colonnades, begun 1699; G, chapel, begun by Wren; H, Vanbrugh building; J, J, Ripley's building, 1750.

and thus balancing the hall, but occupying a central position between the two colonnades at their southern end. It was a dramatic conception, largely and elaborately planned, but it was set aside. Yet it is noticeable that the colonnade and the domes of hall and chapel have not much more kinship with what we recognise as typical of Wren than with known work by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor; while the character of the west section of the King William block (H) produces the conviction that Wren must have left it to the other two.

Vanbrugh's appointment as surveyor to the hospital dates from 1716, and it will have been about then that he designed (most likely in collaboration with Hawksmoor, the deputy surveyor) this west building. Thus, in the historical account of the hospital, published in 1789 by John Cooke and John Maule, we read that—

The west front of this building is of brick, was finished by Sir John Vanbrugh who was Surveyor of the Hospital. In the middle is a tetrastyle frontispiece of the doric order; the columns of which are nearly six feet in diameter and proportionably high, with an entablature and triglyphs over them, all of Portland stone. At each end of this front is a pavilion crowned with a circular pediment & in that at the north end is a piece of sculpture consisting of groups of Marine Trophies, and four large heads embossed representing the four winds; with a sea lion and unicorn.



XV.—THE SOUTH END OF VANBRUGH'S BUILDING.

The whole of this is very typical of Vanbrugh, and the fault of the frontispiece, or portico (Fig. ix), is that, like that at Kimbolton, it gives the impression of being set up against, instead of forming an integral portion of, the whole design. But the arrangement and details of the doors and windows in the spaces between the columns are masterly. Vanbrugh has given interesting form and variety to these eleven apertures, and yet they do not look in the least trivial in their association with the four columns. The division of the front into five portions again shows great management (Fig. xii).

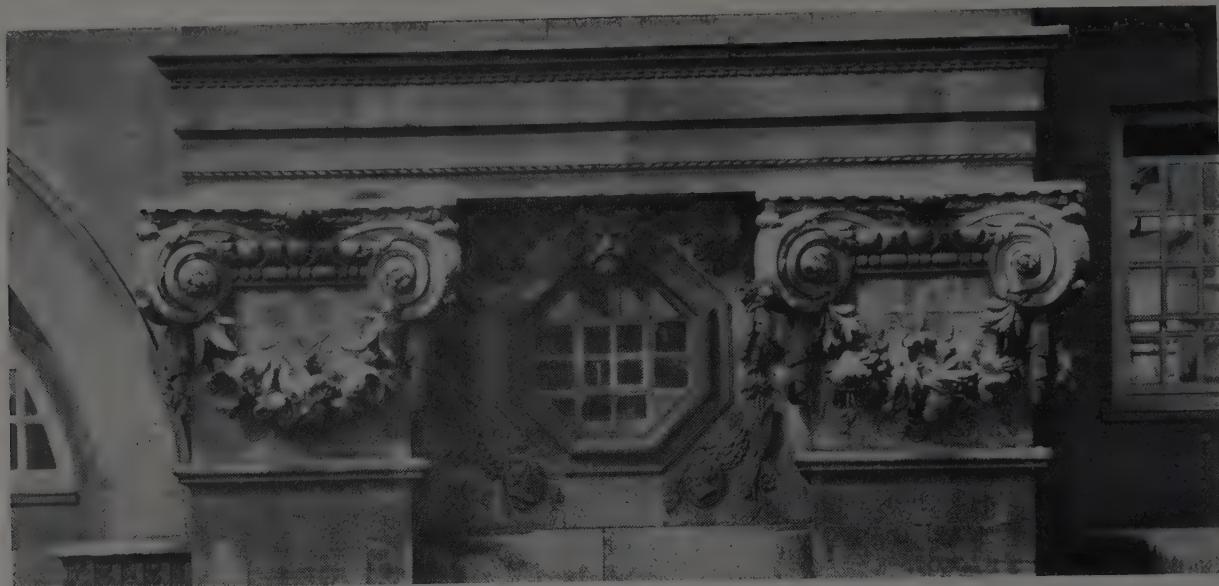
The central block and end pavilions (Fig. xv) give an excellent sky-line and, despite their massiveness, do not crush the slightly recessed intervening sections which consist of plain brick walling with a central feature in stone rising from the ground to the roof entablature (Fig. xvii). This feature is in harmony with, and follows much the same lines as, the middle

section of the portico, but it is treated with all the variety that a different position and purpose permit and, indeed, demand. The arched recess that contains square-headed and roundel windows has a grandly carved head of Neptune, or other marine deity, as a keystone, to which a far-projecting pediment forms a roof. The east face of this same central block (Fig. xix) shows many of the same characteristics (even to that of having different levels for its cornice and string-course from the range of buildings to which it belongs), but it has greater width and much more detail. Twin Ionic columns, corresponding in size and height with those of the Doric order to the west, leave a space between them, topped by a semicircular arch, the centre of which is occupied by a smaller secondary feature, where twin columns standing on high plinths support an entablature and pediment. The capitals of the great columns have swags of sea shells hanging from their volutes, while the little octagon window between them has a mask for its keystone, from each side of which start flower and foliage swags ending with cameos of William and Mary. The thickness of the sash-barring, so integral an element in the largeness and weight of all parts of Vanbrugh's work, is well exemplified in the illustrations of this window (Fig. xviii) and of one of the roundels to the west (Fig. xvi). The east side looks out on to a court and faces the broad pediment of the western colonnade, of which the tympanum has sculpture of somewhat later date (Fig. xx). The colonnades, as Cooke and Maule tell us—

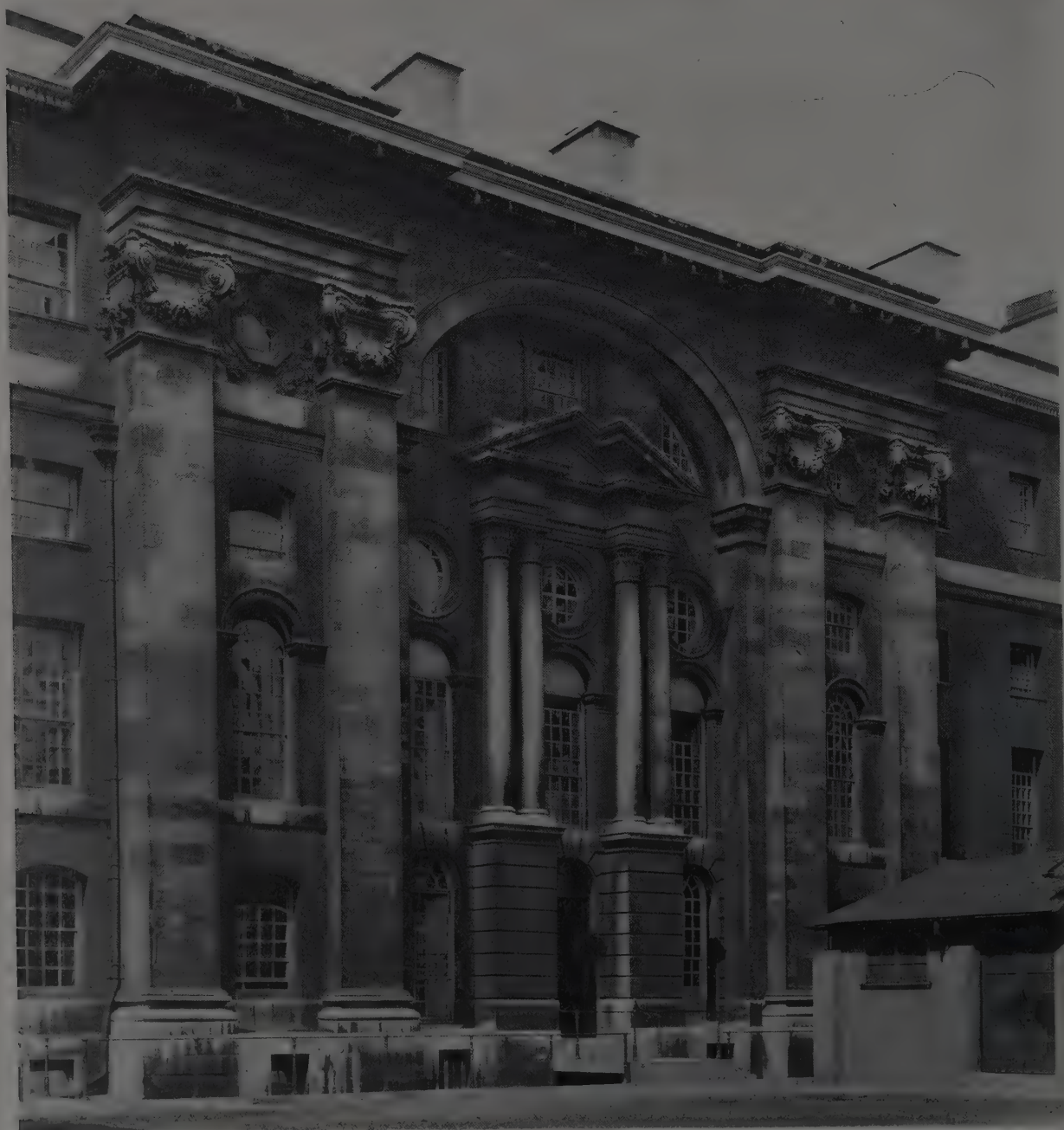
are 115 feet afunder, and are composed of upwards of 300 duplicated



xvi and xvii.—DETAILS OF THE WEST SIDE OF VANBRUGH'S BUILDING.



xviii.—DETAILS OF CAPITALS OF COLUMNS.



xix.—CENTRE OF THE EAST SIDE OF VANBRUGH'S BUILDING.



xx.—LOOKING FROM THE COURT OF THE KING WILLIAM BLOCK THROUGH THE COLONNADE.



xxi.—EAST COLONNADE AND CHAPEL.



xxii. — LOOKING SOUTH DOWN THE WEST COLONNADE.



xxiii. — LOOKING SOUTH DOWN THE EAST COLONNADE.



xxiv. — LOOKING NORTH-WEST THROUGH THE EAST COLONNADE.



xxv. — A DOORWAY IN THE COLONNADE.

(The photographs of Figs. x to xxv were taken by special permission of the Lords of the Admiralty.)

Doric columns and pilasters of Portland stone 20 feet high with an entablature and balustrade. Each of them is 345 feet long, having a return pavilion at the end 70 feet long.

We likewise hear that these colonnades (Figs. xxii and xxiii) and the whole of the King William building, mainly composed of hall and of west and south wards, were completed by 1728; but the building behind the eastern colonnade, called the Queen Mary block and including the chapel (Fig. xxi), was not finished till 1752. Twenty-seven years later "a dreadful fire" destroyed the chapel, and the present interior represents one of the best examples of "Athenian" Stuart's manner.

As regards the colonnade and the hall and chapel domes, exactly what co-partnership between Wren and his subordinates occurred cannot be determined. But the similarity of the treatment of the door-cases (Fig. xxv) from the colonnade into the hall and other buildings with the central feature of the connecting links of Vanbrugh's west front is very marked. Wren, as we have seen, offered his services gratis, and, no doubt, gave of his best during the initial years of the building; but we may well believe that, after Hawksmoor became deputy surveyor in 1705 and Vanbrugh surveyor, eleven years later, the aged, though still busy, chief of the Office of Works left the later direction and completion to the men whose capacity he recognised without even feeling a tinge of jealousy towards them.

VII.—Hawksmoor at Oxford

Castle Howard, Blenheim and Greenwich are the three buildings on which the co-operation of Vanbrugh with Hawksmoor is best recorded. But tradition has it that both were concerned with the Old Clarendon Press at Oxford, which Hawksmoor's letters to Joynes show was in course of construction in 1712. That this was so receives a measure of confirmation from drawings for it that are in the George Clarke collection, preserved at Worcester College. He was at that time the leading architectural authority among the Oxford dons, the "Dictionary of National Biography" describing him as "politician and virtuoso." He took his B.A. degree from Brazenose College in 1679, and was soon after elected to an All Souls Fellowship, which he held until his death, fifty-six years later. Besides the University in general, he was particularly interested not only in Brazenose and All Souls, but also in Worcester, where he—or Hawksmoor for him—designed new buildings, including a library to which he left various portfolios of architectural engravings and drawings, among the latter being several variants for the Clarendon Press. More than one of these is extremely Vanbrughian in its elevation, and is thrown on to the paper in Indian ink wash with the same *brio* as we find in the sketches for the suggested central chapel at Greenwich Hospital. They (Figs. xxviii and xxx) may well be Vanbrugh's proposals for the Clarendon building produced by his own brush. They are characteristic of his manner in general form and in details, while in one of them (Fig. xxx) the indication of the Bodleian Building seen through the arch is brushed in a masterly fashion. All, however, differ widely from the building as erected (Fig. xxvi), which closely follows a fourth design (Fig. xxvii) on which George Clarke has written "Designe for the Printing house at Oxon by Mr Hawksmoor." We shall, therefore, probably be right in concluding that it was especially Hawksmoor's job, but that he was associated with Vanbrugh in the initial stages, and that between them they finally evolved a design satisfactory to themselves and also to George Clarke and the University authorities. Every detail of the accepted plan appears in the finished structure, of which the north (Fig. xxvi) and south (Fig. xxxii) elevations are alike. The centres have massive temple fronts of the Doric order, pierced by round-headed apertures (Fig. xxxiv). In the pediments we see the same half-circle windows that occur in the pediments of the west elevation of Compton Verney (Fig. 308). The sets of three pairs of windows that lie on either side of the pediments are given "movement" by the centre compartments slightly projecting and the upper windows being surmounted by keystone devices. Between the triglyphs of the entablature little attic windows are introduced, reminding one of those at Beningbrough (Fig. 320), a Yorkshire house dating from 1716, which may well have been a product of the influence of Vanbrugh in that county. The entrance archway of the Broad Street elevation of the Clarendon Building is guarded with, perhaps, the finest piece of wrought ironwork associated with any of the Vanbrugh-Hawksmoor buildings, although—at Castle Howard and at Easton



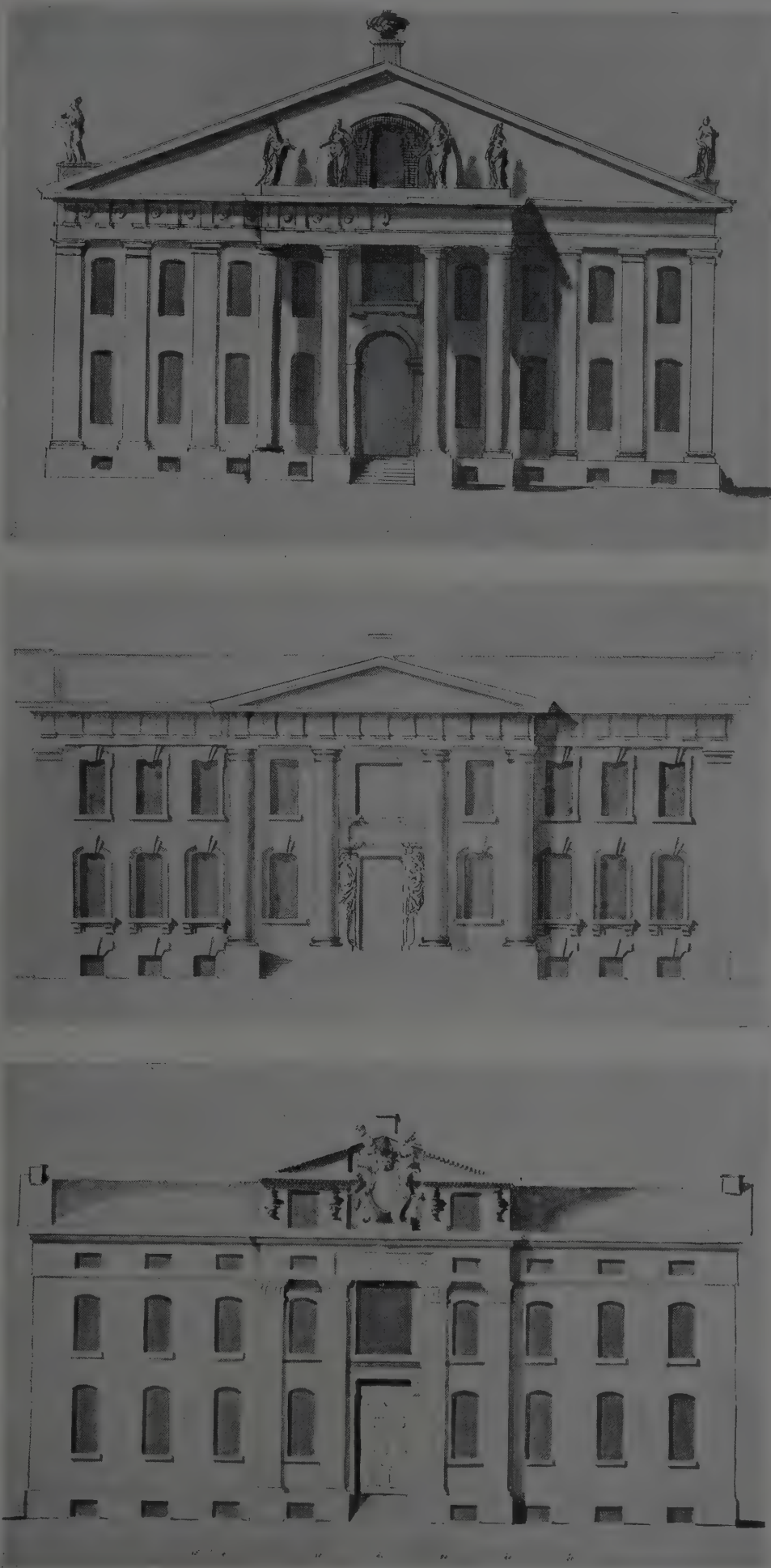
xxvi.—THE CLARENDON BUILDING, OXFORD : THE NORTH SIDE.

Neston, among other places—we shall find fine examples. This gate (Fig. xxxi) opens into a vaulted passage (Fig. xxxv) typical of the joint architects, and the building contains a room which will have been wainscoted by one of the admirable joiners of the day (Fig. xxxiii). Whether Oxford needed the services of such Londoners as passed from the service of Wren to that of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor or, as is quite likely, found its own school self-sufficient does not seem well established. The Oxford of this age certainly offered a fine field for such craftsmanship, for George Clarke, leaning especially on Hawksmoor for executive purposes, took the lead in a very active architectural campaign which included the adequate fitting of several sumptuous College chapels, halls and libraries.

We have already seen that Hawksmoor had an early connection with the University, and, either independently or with Wren's assistance, erected the Library of Queen's College (Fig. xxxvi) under the provostship of Halton, who died in 1704. Six years later a more extensive scheme of building was initiated by Provost Lancaster, and it is not doubted that Hawksmoor supplied the designs. There is, indeed, one little scrap of documentary evidence as to this. Chapel and hall (Fig. xxxviii), together with the buildings that flank them and the screen that faces them along the line of High Street, were included in this scheme. The new hall (Fig. xxxix)

xxvii.—DESIGN FOR THE ABOVE, INSCRIBED,
"BY MR HAWKSMOOR."

was first used in 1715, but the buildings were still incomplete when Lancaster died in the following year. We do not know the exact date of the existing cloister that connects the east and west buildings and screens the first quadrangle. But some old High Street houses were not swept away to admit of building the east range until 1733. The leading master masons at Oxford at this time were the Townsends, whom we shall meet at Blenheim (page 71) and at Kings Weston (page 144). The father was Mayor of Oxford in 1721. The son learnt architectural drawing and could make careful, if somewhat commonplace, copies of architects' designs. He even grew to consider himself competent to improve upon Hawksmoor, for, in August, 1733, he wrote to the Provost of Queen's that he was making some alteration in the design of the cupola - surmounted entrance which he was then engaged on building (Fig. xxxvii). Whether, till then, there had been a simpler entrance in the centre of the cloister or whether a gap had been left is uncertain, but Townsend had to pull down something before he began the new work, for he speaks of re-using old material. It is in reference to this gateway that we get a contemporary mention of Hawksmoor. In the *Daily Post* of February 12th, 1736,



xxviii, xxix, xxx.—VARIOUS DESIGNS FOR THE CLARENDON BUILDING. They probably represent both Vanbrugh's and Hawksmoor's ideas, and are all in the Clarke Collection at Worcester College.



xxx. — WROUGHT-IRON GATEWAY TO THE CLARENDON BUILDING.
It is one of the finest, if not the finest, examples of the wrought ironwork of its day.

there is a letter "from a gentleman in Oxford to his friend in London" which says: "this temple is built after y^e Design of Mr Hawksmoor and y^e Statu by y^e ingenious Mr Cheere of Westminster." The statue is that of Queen Caroline, and Cheer's agreement for it dates from 1734. Thus we see that this entrance and cupola are among Hawksmoor's latest works, and are contemporary with his Castle Howard mausoleum (page 55). This shows how important it is to be sure of facts and dates when you want to enunciate views and theories dependent on them. As 1710 was the year when Lancaster laid the foundation stone of the new buildings, it has been casually attributed as the date of the whole, including the cupola. Mr. Goodhart Rendel, in his monograph on Hawksmoor, already alluded to (page xxiii), definitely gives it that

date, and adds that the cupola "shews the influence of Wren in some of Hawksmoor's earlier designs." If it shows anything at all, it is that the Vanbrugh style was not natural to or characteristic of Hawksmoor, but that he was so entirely dominated by the stronger will that even what he did independently during Vanbrugh's lifetime—such as the six London churches—teems with the Vanbrugh spirit, but that after Vanbrugh's death in 1726 he may have had a slight reversion towards Wren, or have been influenced by the then dominant Burlingtonian school.

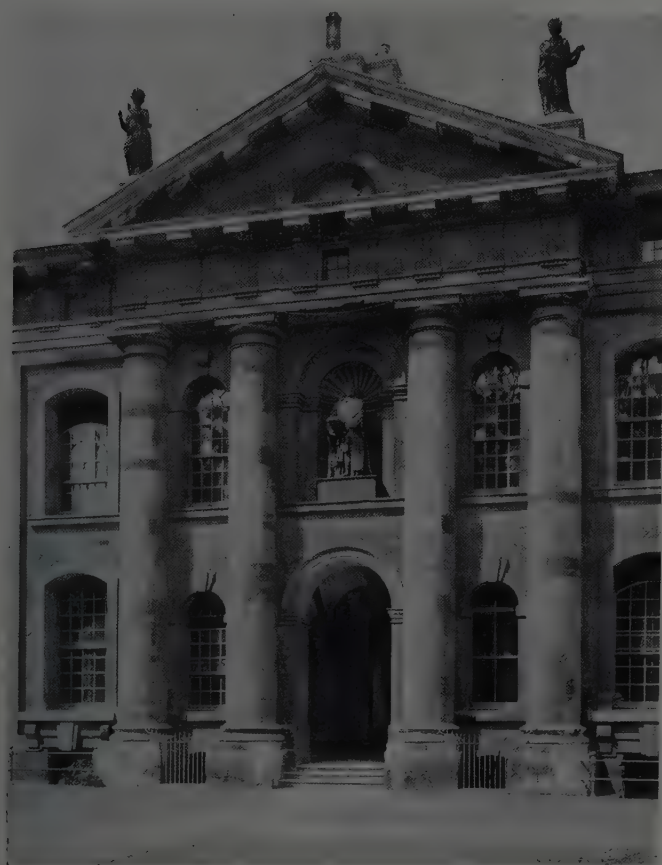
Better documented is Hawksmoor's work at All Souls. Led by George Clarke, the governing body developed a desire not merely for erecting new buildings, but also for altering the old ones dating from late mediæval times. It was settled that a cloister lying north of the main quadrangle should be destroyed, and new buildings, including a great library, such as Queen's already had, and such as Clarke had in hand for Christchurch, should be erected thereon. But two important points were, evidently, under discussion, *viz.*, whether the old quadrangle should give place to a new one, and whether the new buildings should be in classic style or in Gothic taste. The latter proposal carried the day, and it is possible that Hawksmoor, fresh from the Castle Howard towers and bastions, favoured this proposal, and thus became the author of the first important domestic pseudo-Gothic exterior in England. He prepared a batch of alternative designs, which he sent to George Clarke in 1715, accompanying them with a long letter, or memorandum, not only explaining them, but expressing his views on the treatment of old buildings. His opinions on these subjects and on the slap-dash methods of many builders of



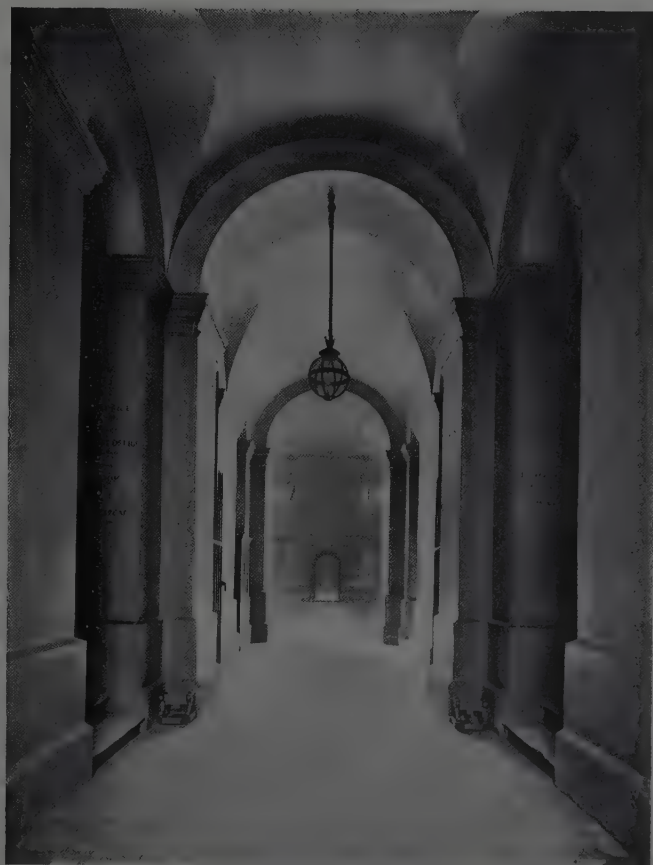
xxxii.—THE CLARENDON BUILDING, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



xxxiii.—IN THE CLARENDON BUILDING : THE DELEGATES' ROOM.



xxxiv.—THE SOUTH PEDIMENT OF THE CLARENDON BUILDING.



xxxv. — LOOKING THROUGH THE CLARENDON BUILDING.



xxxvi.—QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD: THE WEST SIDE OF THE LIBRARY.

The ashlar has recently been renewed.

have 2 doors into y^e Hall which may be easily fill'd up, if not found usefull But if you shou'd make ye Entrance of y^e Hall at this end from this Vestibule and place the Screen here, you wou'd save roome and add to y^e Length of y^e Hall considerably, however, I have (according to yo^r hints) prepar'd y^e entrance and Screen at y^e other end next y^e Buttry. The chimney in y^e hall I wou'd place in ye side wall, rather than in the middle of y^e floor.

I propose the Vestibule afforsay'd to be Vaulted and to rise from ye paving to ye Vault as high as y^e Hall ceiling, and above y^e Leads of y^e Hall and Chapell to rise still 15 foot higher to form an oblong Turret for y^e service of y^e Chapell Bell and to break y^e Long extent of the Wing more agreeably. The Hall shou'd be all Vaulted underneath to preserv y^e paving, Wainscots, &c, and to make it more wholsome.

The proposition of ye Kitchin and Offices is done 2 severall ways as You may see in y^e Plan of y^e (Dormitory) next new College & I am of opinion, that, what I have put in that plan, is better, than ye propofall in ye Generall plan for them offices.

The Great Dormitory, however, you may in some of y^e particulars change it without destroying the main intention. This should all be vaulted in y^e cellars and y^e Common Roome both underfoot and overhead, the stairs made of hard stone and 2 thick party Walls, next y^e Hall at one end and y^e Library at y^e other rising 6 foot higher than y^e Roofs and Leads to keep any accident of fire from consuming all at once.

The Library has it! Entrance in y^e middle, which is distinguish'd within, by a large Recess breaking toward Hart hall, and Contain'd under ye suffite of a Large Gothick arch which is humour'd by 2 other arches of y^e Like nature on y^e right hand & Left which all together circumscribe this middle part or Center of y^e Library. Over these Arches rises a Turret (as high as that on y^e Chapell side) with windows striking downe into y^e Room placed in form of a Gothick Lantern.

The 2 Extreame ends of y^e Library are vary'd by 2 other of y^e say'd Gothick Arches for y^e better Ornament both of y^e Walls & ceilings, but note that their suffites neither lessen y^e Roome nor hinder y^e View.

The manner of y^e Ceiling I wou'd propose to be Wainscot work divided into Pannells (eum cistellis Rosarum Deaurat).

his day—even in the re-erection of London after the Fire—are rather surprising, and, with the consent of the College authorities, the memorandum is now reproduced *in extenso*. It is dated February 17th, 1715, and endorsed "Mr Hawksmoor, explaining the drafts & designs for All Souls College." It runs as follows :

S^r The Explanation of y^e Designs for All Souls I fend you as followeth viz^t

No. 1

(This to be followed) Is ye Plann Generall of y^e whole Designe, Which may be alter'd in some particulars of y^e Measures (to make it answer y^e Ground) without Changing y^e Esentiall parts of y^e fabricks.

The irregularity of y^e Chapell will occasion some disagreement in y^e front toward the Piazza by its not being at R^t Angles, but that may be dispen'd withall, since (in all appearances) it will seem uniform.

The Vestibule or middle pasage that lyes between y^e Hall & N^e End of y^e Chapell serves only for Communication from y^e Old Quadrangle to ye New one, unless you will

The places for Archives and Studys with chimneys separated by strong party walls pierced with lesser arches whose Overtures may be usefull for Books &c.

The stairs & other Conveniencys are all (I hope) according to your minde, in Generall, altho not in every little part. I must desire, cellars, vaulted, under the whole Library other wayes y^e Books will suffer much The shiddys, and Archives ought also to be vaulted with Brick in every story vid^e y^e Example of y^e Vatican Library.

I have designed a Portico and Gate (next the Great Piazza) after y^e Roman order, to shew that we were not quite out of Charity with that mañer of Building.

The Plann mark No 2 is y^e Designe of y^e Great Dormitory and Common Room with y^e parts adjoyninge.

No 3 is y^e Entry or Vestibulum between y^e Hall and Chapell, and y^e same will be in Appearance on y^e wing of y^e Library.

No 4 shews y^e front of y^e Old Quadrangle to y^e high-street with an additionall Storey and y^e Windows somewhat alter'd.

No 5 a bay of y^e Old Building at Large with the manner of Chafsing (if required)

No 6 Is a generall perspective of y^e Chapell Library and great Dormitory with a part of y^e Old Quadrangle alter'd.

I have also sent two Scetches of Rebuilding, after y^e Antique, keeping y^e Hall & Chapell Gothick only.

I must ask leave to say something in favour of y^e Old Quadrangle, built by your most Rev^d founder for although it may have some faults yet it is not without its virtues. This building is strong and durable, much more so than any of your new buildings because they have not y^e substance nor workmanship, and I am confident that much Conveniency and beauty may be added to it, whereas utterly destroying or barbarously altering or mangling it wou'd be using y^e founder cruelly, and a Loss to y^e present possesours.

I have offer'd at keeping y^e Old Walls as entire as I can, only putting in some windows carefully or perhaps enlarging others, as necessity may require, but I wou'd open as little toward y^e street as is possible. I have added upon paper an Upper story in form of a perpetuall Arcade of y^e Gothick manner that may be open or solid as oft as needfull, and which will strike in, with those small irregularitys frequent in y^e Gothick works, and altogether, preserve a Reasonable uniformity; but my Intentions you may see by y^e Drawings, more fully, and if I am not quite right in my Notion, yet I am certain if I may be assisted with your thoughts in this affair it will improve y^e thing beyond contradiction Vid No 3

What ever is good in its kind ought to be preserv'd in respect to antiquity, as well as our present advantage, for destruction can be profitable to none but such as Live by it.

No V

I have made a Drawing (pretty Large) of a bay of y^e Old Building next y^e high street which may serve as a specimen in many other cases, to put the workmen in minds how to place a Chafs window in a front of a Gothick building, without destroying y^e strength of y^e fabrick and y^e order & beauty of ye compartment.

To doe this, it is of absolute necessity to keep y^e arch over y^e head of y^e window, or if it must be destroyed by enlarging y^e window; supply it with a new one.

Never suffer y^e outward moldings on y^e Jaumbs of y^e window, and suffice, to be cut away, for that takes off all y^e ornament and strength of y^e Designe.

The more y^e Chafs frame of wood and Chafs stands from y^e out face of y^e wall, it is y^e better because y^e wooden worke is defended from y^e rain and more strongly fix'd, besides y^e beauty it gives the Overture by Receding.



xxxvii.—QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

The screen on to High Street, from within the quadrangle. The cupola appears to have been designed by Hawksmoor as late as 1733.



xxxviii.—QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.
The hall and chapel built under Provost Lancaster (died 1716).



xxxix.—THE HALL AT QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

You may see y^e scandalous effect that Chafes windows have, by putting them flush (as workmen call it) to the outside of y^e wall; in y^e Quadrangle of New College, and at Trinity in Cambridge most shamefully.

It is fancy'd by most of y^e workmen and many others that y^e placing a window of Chafes; to y^e very outside of y^e wall, gains more Light, than when it Recedes, as y^e windows do in y^e Banqueting house, and all Italian and Gothick buildings.

But this I positively declare a mistake, for y^e Glass being a Diaphanous plain, or rather an invifible septum to keep out y^e weather it is no matter in what part of y^e Wall you place it, whether outside, inside, or Middle.

What I am offering at in this article is for the preservation of Antient durable Public Buildings, that are strong and ufull, instead of erecting new fantastick perishable Traff, or altering and wounding y^e Old by unskillfull workmen and this leads me to say something by way of encouragement towards Generall Design and proper forecast in this affair Architectonically it may regard both old and new Erections.

When London was Burnt in 1666 out of that fatal accidentall mischief one might have expected some good when y^e Phenix was to rise again, viz^t a convenient regular well built City, excellent skillfull, honest artifices made by y^e greatness and Quantity of y^e work in rebuilding such a Capital, but instead of these we have noe City, nor streets, nor Houses, but a Chaos of Dirty Rotten Sheds, allways Tumbling or taking fire, with winding crooked passages (scarse practicable) lakes of Mud and Rills of stinking mire running through them.

The workmen soe far from skill or honesty that y^e generall part of 'em are more brutall & stupid than in ye remotest part of Britain, and the longer they worke the worse they grow, as you may see in all y^e Additionall Scoundrell streets they are continually cobbling up, to sell by whole-sale and this not all in London, for this sort of

Vermin has run & spread all over ye Country, and as they have Ruin'd y^e Capitall, soe have they all y^e other Citys & Townes in Engl^d more or lesse, together with working y^e Destruction of many a good Old Mansion house and Durable Castle &c. So that it is a question which was y^e worse calamity y^e Burning or Rebuilding by these Villains, for y^e first was Quick and soon over, the latter slow but perpetuall.

It is not quite fair to lay all y^e Blame of the above mention'd Misfortune upon those poor Reptiles, for it is very astonishing that y^e Government wou'd not enter into this affair most strenuously & energetically at such a time when they had so favourable an opportunity to Rebuild London y^e most August Towne in y^e World, and either have kept in to its old Dimension or if it was reasonable to let it swell to a larger, they ought for y^e Publick good to have guided it into a Regular and commodious form, and not to have suffer'd it to Run into an ugly inconvenient self destroying unweildy monster. These I say one might have wish'd for from y^e Powers above say'd, and many other publick benefits of like nature, but when we may entertain any hopes of seeing any such performed by them God only knows.

Now to apply this argument by looking back we see ye misfortune of London in Rebuilding as well as augmenting it, by not having Generall Draughts and Regular schemes & what irreparable inconvenience and mischief has bin produced, let us returne to Oxford and looke forward upon y^e hopes we may have in y^e Universitys of doing as much good as we can and Avoyding y^e Ills that may happen by omitting a little previous care.

It cannot therefore be improper to lay downe such Draughts and Designs for repairing y^e Old, & Erecting New fabricks for y^e embellishment and use of y^e University it may in time come to perfection altho not soe Quickly as we might wish, for when we survey what we have done, beyond expectation & if we consider ye Noble Benefactions



xl.—IN HAWKSMOOR'S QUADRANGLE, ALL SOULS, OXFORD.



xli.—HAWKSMOOR'S GOTHIC WORK, ALL SOULS, OXFORD.

given and y^e Genius that now seems to Govern we need not Dispair of accomplishing anything that may render this feat of ye Muses Admir'd at home and Renown'd abroad, But running on without any rule and well digested designes will produce nothing but Chaos & Tumult.

I am much delighted with your proposall for y^e Piazza and Library next y^e Schools and more particularly have still further hopes of other enlargements. But give me your hints relating to things of this nature and I will do all I can to forward them and (as I have bin pleading) will make Designes for all that can be thought necessary to y^e use and ornam^t of the University.

I am always extremely satisfied when I can be any way ufull to y^e University & when y^e Gov^t of that Learned Body expres themselves pleas'd with any of my Endeavours it is y^e highest obligation to me.

I remaine y^r most obliged humble servant
N Hawksmore.

I beg you will present my most humble service to y^r W^m Gifford, and be pleas'd to tell him that it was not any disregard to him that I did not wait on him, but my misfortune of my being out of Towne.

February 17th. 1715.
Westminster.

We know that, two years later, Vanbrugh pleaded for the retention of the Holbein Gate in Whitehall, and he has been given credit for being the first architect to have some respect for old buildings. But here we have Hawksmoor taking the same view and expressing it much more strongly. As regards All Souls, a bird's-eye drawing in the Clarke collection represents the



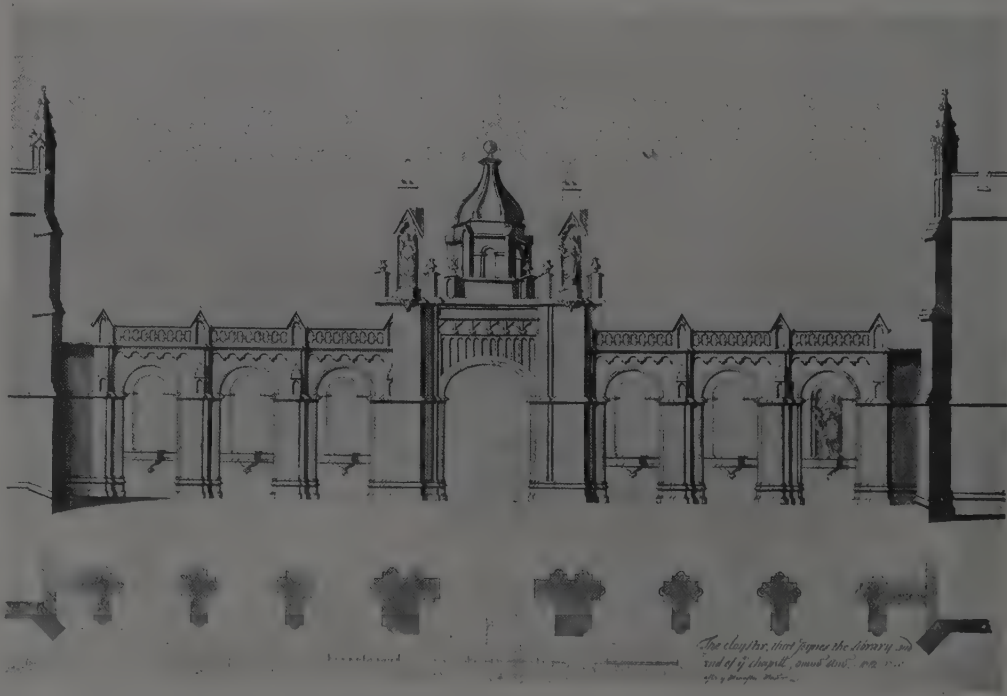
xlii.—GENERAL DESIGN OF ALL SOULS, OXFORD.
As altered by Hawksmoor.



An Elevation showing the College of All Souls may be rebuilt after y^e first manner except y^e Chapel and Hall which remaine as they are.

N. H. 1714

xliii.—A SUGGESTED DESIGN FOR ALL SOULS, OXFORD.
Signed "N. H., 1714."



xliv.—DESIGN FOR THE SCREEN OF THE ALL SOULS QUADRANGLE.
Dated 1720 and called "After y^e Monastic Mañer."



xliv.—THE CODRINGTON LIBRARY, ALL SOULS, OXFORD.

adopted scheme (Fig. xlii). The “turrets,” or lanterns, were omitted, as Clarke suggested in the marginal note to the memorandum. Another drawing, signed N. H. and dated 1714 (Fig. xliii), shows the quadrangle “may be rebuilt after *y^e Greek* manner, except *y^e Chapel and Hall* which remain Gothick.”

The library (Fig. xlv) and other portions of Hawksmoor’s plan, such as the east side, with its two Gothic lanterns (Fig. xli), will have been put in hand almost at once, and in 1720 arrangements were made to engrave the designs (Fig. xlv). Hawksmoor made special drawings for this, and the one for the cloister (the Roman portico not having met with approval) is signed with his initials. Some years later it was decided to re-build the hall (Fig. xlvi), and as to that we have more detail because the plans were prepared by Hawksmoor and Clarke in London, the latter then corresponding on the subject with Niblett, the Warden of the College. Thus, on March 25th, 1729, he tells the Warden how Hawksmoor and Townsend had met the previous day at his lodging with drafts for the new hall, buttery and kitchen, and that Townsend was taking them to Oxford to get the College’s approbation. We gather from this that, as at Queen’s so at All Souls, the Townsends were the master masons or chief builders. With this and other letters from Clarke is also preserved Hawksmoor’s bill of charges for various plans from March, 1729, down to August, 1734. There is an item of a guinea for two designs for the ironwork of the gateway that fills in the archway opening on to the piazza. It is very similar to that of the Clarendon Press, which, although probably not dating till after 1712, may be by “Ireland the Smith,” who, as Hawksmoor writes to Joynes, was to measure for the rails round the Printing House in 1706.

Facing this screen, on the other side of the “Piazza,” stands Brasenose, Clarke’s old College, and here, he, with Hawksmoor, contemplated great alterations and extensions. But, though designs were made, they were never carried out. Had this scheme been realised and had Hawksmoor’s and not Gibbs’s design for the Radcliffe Library been accepted, this portion of Oxford would have been very representative of Hawksmoor, both in his Gothic and his classic moods. Among the Clarke drawings there are several designs for great college buildings in the style of the day. One of them (Fig. xlii), closely resembling the models preserved

at King's College, Cambridge, has a dome designed much like what Hawksmoor carried out for the Castle Howard mausoleum (Fig. 93).

It is to be feared that his desire to build from his own designs and in classic style was stronger than his feeling in favour of retaining the old, so that in 1724 he sent to Clarke an " Idea of Maudlin College partly for your diversion and partly to shew my good wifhes, this being a College foe decriped that Repairing any part (except y^e hall and Chapell) signifys but Little, so that y^e whole muft (or ought to be) new." This " idea " shows the well known tower preserved, but standing in the centre of a classic elevation with a great arch driven through it as a gateway. Fortunately, very little of this plan was ever carried out. The exceptionally beautiful old quadrangle was found to be not very " decriped," so that, probably from lack of funds, it was retained, and only the north side of the proposed new and much deeper quadrangle was erected, and still stands as an isolated block to the north of the quadrangle.

While working for the Office of Works Hawksmoor had plenty of occupation, not only at Oxford, Castle Howard and Blenheim, but in the matter of the fifty churches that were to be built under the Act of Queen Anne. Gibbs was appointed the Professional Commissioner for the

work, but in 1715 Hawksmoor succeeded him. Before that, however, two of the churches had been entrusted to him, for 1711 is set down as the date when St. Alphege's Greenwich, was begun, and in the next year, St. Anne's, Limehouse, followed. The opinion has already been expressed that he never showed his resourceful planning and the strong characteristics of his style more completely than at the former. An east-end altar table was then considered essential, but the east end of the Greenwich church (Fig. 1) was necessarily also the principal street elevation, and from it there must be ingress to the church. Thus, the long unbroken temple front was continued for a



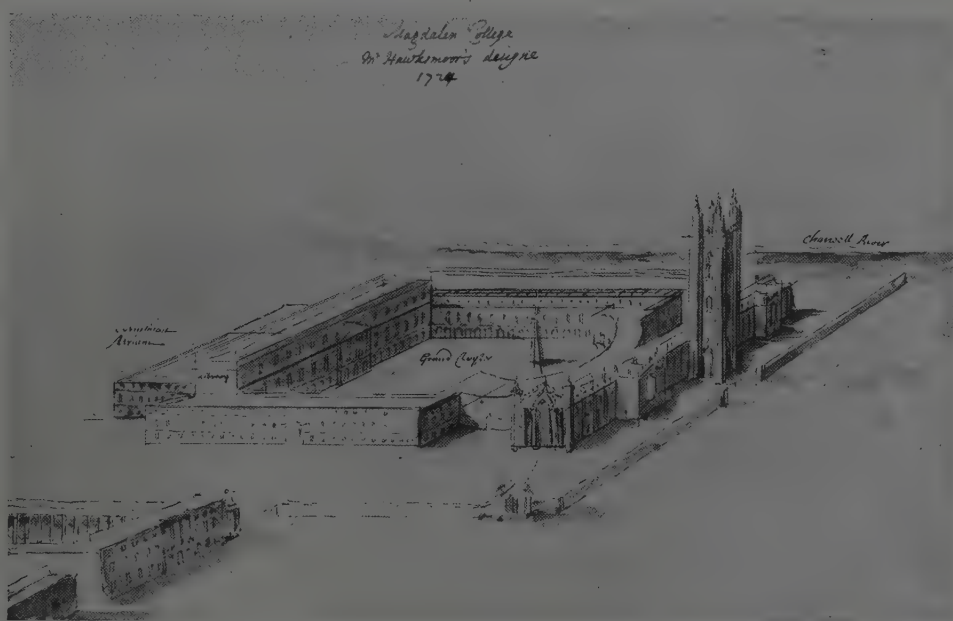
xlvi.—THE HALL AT ALL SOULS.

dozen feet or so beyond the east window, and was formed into a portico of the "Venetian Window" type (Fig. li), its sides forming vestibules giving access to the aisles—or, rather, spaces—below the north and south galleries of the church. A Doric order of great size and weight runs round the building, the pilasters forming bays having low, square, heavily key-stoned windows below, and tall, round-arched windows above. It is thus very typical of the general Vanbrugh-Hawksmoor treatment for both domestic and ecclesiastical architecture. The base of a low, square tower forms the west porch, and no doubt Hawksmoor intended one of his individual lanterns or super-structures to rise from the tower. That part of the work, however, appears to have been carried out by James, another of the Queen Anne church builders, and it does not marry well with the Hawksmoor style. Within, the church forms

just one great square room, with an eastern archway opening into the comparatively small chancel (Fig. xlix). There are no columns and no divisions into nave and aisles, unless the space under the side galleries is to be ranked as such. Wren had had very definite views that preaching was the essence of Protestant services, hence the square form, the ample galleries, and the high pulpit which he so often used. Hawksmoor planned on the same principle, and, except that the woodwork is somewhat modified to suit his style, it resembles that of the Charles II City churches, and was, no doubt, executed by the same joiners—such as Hobson and Smallwell—whom we find employed by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor at Blenheim and Claremont. Notice especially at St. Alphege's the supports to the galleries which, in outline, resemble columns less than they do George III candlesticks. There was a practical reason for this. The massiveness of the gallery parapet needed adequate support, but it was important not to obstruct the view of those sitting behind them. Hence the comparatively small beginnings of the square shafts that swell out as they rise and end with a large and elaborate Corinthian capital. Hawksmoor repeated the idea at St. George's, Bloomsbury, and St. Mary Woolnoth, but the rearrangement of the interiors of these two churches has sadly marred the general appearance and destroyed Hawksmoor's characteristic disposition. It is a matter of congratulation that we still have it



xlvi.—A DESIGN FOR KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, BY HAWKSMOOR.



xlvi.—HAWKSMOOR'S SUGGESTION FOR RE-BUILDING MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

at so representative and convincing a church as St. Alphege's, which is, therefore, as to its interior, far more interesting than the other five of the Hawksmoor group, viz., St. Anne's, Limehouse; St. George's-in-the-East; Christ Church, Spitalfields; St. Mary Woolnoth; and St. George's, Bloomsbury. At the last, Hawksmoor will have felt that a decisive architectural feature should mark the principal elevation which faced south. Hence the rather prodigious portico reached by an equally prodigious flight of steps.

They might be the outworks of a tremendous fane, and not of a church of which the centre or main body is little more than 50ft. square. The massive dignity that Hawksmoor insisted on creating gives a certain clumsiness to the portico, and according to whether your tastes are towards Wren-like gracefulness or Vanbrughian massiveness, so do you compare favourably or unfavourably the Bloomsbury portico with that by Gibbs at Trafalgar Square, and that by James at Hanover Square. Thus, Mr. Arthur Bolton most unfavourably contrasts Hawksmoor's portico with the other two, whereas Mr. Goodhart Rendel dismisses the Hanover Square portico as "altogether inferior to the Bloomsbury one." There, the tower was put in its usual place, at the west end of the church, but rises from a narrow way, and is, therefore, not a means of entrance. Lying far back from the great portico, it could only be a feature if it was very tall and if the upper part had the appearance of weight and massiveness. While engaged on this church, the last that he undertook, he was, evidently, much taken with Pliny's description of the Hallicarnassus mausoleum. There was enough to admit of a conjectural

reconstruction, an idea which so pleased him that he decided that it would do for his tower top. We know that it was abused and laughed at by Walpole and others, but it appears to be more successful than Hawksmoor's rather eccentric attempt at lanterns and spires of Gothic origin in classical dress, such as we see in his East-End churches, and it is certainly apt in its relation to the portico and to the rest of the church, where again we find little square undercroft windows with keystones as



xlix.—THE INTERIOR OF ST. ALPHEGE'S, GREENWICH.



l.—SOUTH AND EAST SIDES OF ST. ALPHEGE'S, GREENWICH.

high as the windows themselves and arched window heads above.

It was while the Bloomsbury church was in progress and the Hallicarnassus mausoleum was prominent in Hawksmoor's mind that a pagan monument of that kind for the burial of the Carlisle earls at Castle Howard was discussed. We shall see (page 57) that while Hawksmoor, in a letter urging the adoption of the scheme, mentions the Hallicarnassus example as the most famous, yet he does not recommend it for Lord Carlisle's purpose, and it was the Cecilia Metella tomb that was decided on as the model for Castle Howard.

VIII. — Vanbrugh's Character and Achievements

Easton Neston being the only country seat for which Hawksmoor was fully responsible, it has been necessary, in order duly to mark his place in our architectural annals, to say something of his work on Oxford colleges and London churches. Not so with Vanbrugh. Although he was undoubtedly active as Comptroller of the King's Works—and

we find references to his official activities at Hampton Court and at Kensington as well as at Greenwich—yet he was essentially the architect of country seats, and the chapters of this book illustrate and describe all of importance that have wholly or in part survived. Castle Howard he began to work at certainly not later than 1699, and it was quite unfinished at the time of his death in 1726. For Blenheim he was making designs and discussing the site in the autumn of 1704, and, except for an interval when work was wholly stopped, it engaged very much of his attention until his final quarrel with Duchess Sarah. Kings Weston dates from about 1712, Eastbury from 1716, Seaton Delaval from 1720. Both Eastbury and Seaton Delaval (pages 175 and 271) show him a complete master of his art, with clients who gladly accept the full measure of his dramatic conceptions. These are the seats of country gentlemen, not the palaces of important noblemen. Yet the "Main Piles" are monumental in character and the "outworks" far stretching. So great is the length of the wings that form the sides of the forecourts that Vanbrugh was able to repeat outside that favourite feature of his Castle Howard interiors, the arched corridor. At Eastbury they are vaulted (Fig. lii), while at Seaton Delaval (Fig. liii) the ceiling is flat. There is, however, much richness and play of light given by the open arcade on the one side and the repetition of the arcading on the other.

While still at work at Seaton Delaval, Vanbrugh schemed and carried out alterations at Lumley Castle (page 291). Grimsthorpe he began to reconstitute completely in 1722, but the portion that was in hand when he died is the only part of his scheme that was undertaken. We



li.—THE EAST END ENTRANCES INTO ST. ALPHEGE'S, GREENWICH.

find here (Fig. liv) the same two-storeyed and arched screen dividing staircase from hall as he designed for Blenheim (Fig. 139) and for Audley End (Fig. lx). His share of the work done at Duncombe and Gilling, Compton Verney and Oulton, Shotover and Frampton, is uncertain, but we shall discuss the question in the chapters devoted to those houses. Not far from Shotover is Britwell Court, where an Ionic column (Fig. lv) reminds us of "the fluted Pillar of the Doric order" that was to be the central feature of his Castle Howard parterre (page 48), and which was to be similar to one which, as Vanbrugh wrote to Carlisle, was set up and much approved of at Eastbury. Another feature of like kind at Britwell (Fig. lvi) takes the form of a tapering hexagonal shaft, topped by a pine cone—a slight change from the obelisk form that Vanbrugh used, as at Shotover (Fig. 366). Thus, we may well conjecture that he gave advice, if he did not actually make designs, for this modest Oxfordshire house, where the chimneypiece (Fig. lix) is so monumental as to suggest his influence, and bears a strong resemblance to that in the Shotover hall (Fig. 376).

Probably, he had much to do with the first laying-out of the famous gardens at Stowe. In the chapter relating to that place his influence on the coming change from the formal to the landscape school of gardening in England is especially discussed, but much else that helps to throw light upon this hitherto unconsidered part of his life's work will be found treated under the headings of Castle Howard and Blenheim, Eastbury and Claremont. We shall see that the



lii.—THE ARCADE AT EASTBURY, DORSET.

last of these was a house on a picturesque site that may well have attracted him when he himself owned it, and on an equally picturesque spot, where a steep bank gave him a wide outlook over Greenwich Park and Hospital to St. Paul's in the distance, he afterwards built his "Castle."

His professional career continued till the last days of his life, and his advice was sought not merely as a designer, but as an assessor of the designs of others. Thus, when a new gaol was needed at Aylesbury in 1720, a committee of county magistrates ordered alternative plans to be prepared by a Mr. Harris and a Mr. Brandon. In a paper on this subject by Colonel G. R. Crouch, published in 1926, we hear that in 1721 such "planns, ground plotts and modells" were brought into court, where it was determined that one of the magistrates should take the plans

to Sir John Vanbrugh, and it was decided to follow whichever plan was approved by him." Again we find that at Wheatley, near Shotover, his favourite pyramidal form was used for the village lock-up (Fig. lviii). Scattered about Yorkshire we find little buildings that proclaim him their originator, such as a pedimented gateway at New Malton (Fig. lvii) and the Robin Hood Well by the high road between Doncaster and York. In Lincolnshire his mode of battlementing and raising up mediævally inspired end turrets is seen at Tennyson's old home, where the sash-barring remains as sturdy as Vanbrugh specified for Blenheim (page 76) and Claremont (page 170). May we not even trace the same influence in the now destroyed English church at Rotterdam. It was built largely with money given by Queen Anne, at the very time when Vanbrugh became Comptroller at the Office of Works, and it showed much of his manner, and especially the great grouped pilasters at the corners.



liii.—THE ARCADE AT SEATON DELAVAL.

It is clear that numbers of private people—especially, it would seem, Whig Lords—consulted him when they meditated new building or altering their seats. Thus, when the first of the Harveys to be Earl of Bristol thought of re-housing himself at Ickworth—a project that did not materialise till the close of the career of his grandson, the fourth earl—he turned his eye towards the author of Castle Howard and Blenheim, and we read in his Diary under date July 16th, 1718:

Sir John Vanbrugh came to Ickworth and sett out y^e Scituation of my new house, leaving a plan with me for y^e same & went away y^e 19th for Ely towards London.

Through his wife, Lord Bristol was connected with the Earls of Suffolk. Her cousin, the fifth earl, had regained from William III Audley End, purchased from his father by Charles II, but never fully paid for. His son, the sixth earl, succeeded in 1709 and occupied the post of Deputy Earl-Marshal, as Lord Carlisle had done in 1702. We have seen (page xiii) how that brought him into relations with Vanbrugh, whose advice he will have asked as to what should be done at Audley End, which was huge in size and somewhat decayed. The great outer court was pulled down, but it was not merely destructive work that was undertaken, for a space that lay south of the hall was drawn into it by changing a wall into a two-storeyed arcade (Fig. lx). Into this added portion Vanbrugh introduced a great stone stair with wrought-iron balustrade (Fig. lxi), very similar to

his work at Castle Howard, but in its double flight somewhat nearer to the arrangement at Grimsthorpe (Fig. 458). This, however, was probably not done until after the seventh earl succeeded in 1718. He much wished to follow his father as Deputy Marshal, and Vanbrugh had the same wish, if only to put a spoke in the wheel of Sir John Anstis, whom we have seen made Garter King over his head (page xxviii). Anstis favoured the appointment of another Howard, the Earl of Berkshire, and so Vanbrugh, as soon as the sixth Suffolk Earl had breathed his last, wrote to Newcastle to urge, not only his successor's claim, but the advantage to the Ministry of ensuring his support. There is, he declares, "not a more zealous and Determin'd Whig in England" than he, "but very warm in his Tempers, And 'twas pitty he shou'd be disoblig'd at the first Setting out, which I'm much afraid he wou'd be if L^d Berkshire had the preference."

From his letters to the Duke of Newcastle we see, in other cases as well, how closely allied in social and political, as well as professional, relations Vanbrugh was with the leading men of the day. Thus, we find him, on his way to Castle Howard in December, 1718, turning aside to Grimsthorpe to interview the Duke of Ancaster and his son, Lord Lindsey, armed with letters from Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State. The visit, if not really, was ostensibly political, for Vanbrugh reports that "Father & Son are good in the Main; the latter will I believe be seen in Towne and Vote right." But, no doubt, there was also architectural talk, although it was for the son, after his father's death in 1723, that Vanbrugh set to work to transform the place. His attitude towards his titled correspondents shows that, while dukes and even earls were not, in those days, quite ordinary flesh and blood—were, indeed, floating in the same cloudy skies from which the denizens of Olympia looked down on them from their hall ceilings—and, therefore, a certain amount of respectful distance had to be preserved, yet light topics, racy gossip and even broad jokes were welcome in the sort of manuscript news-sheets which was the form that Vanbrugh's letters to them were apt to take. Newcastle, personally, must not be chaffed, but chaff about other people is relished. Brigadier Watkins, who, with Vanbrugh, was so closely concerned in the duke's affairs, can hardly be mentioned without a joke. Thus, when the brigadier—whom the duke expects to be at his beck and call, even if it means neglecting his official duties at the Office of Works—finds his chief a little ruffled at his absence one day in August, 1718, he engages Vanbrugh—whom he often meets *tête-à-tête* at coffee houses—to put things right; and so the duke is informed:

I am to acquaint you, That the Tate a Tate Club reviv'd last night, at the Hercules Pillars Alehouse, in high Holborn. There was Stinking fish, and Stale cold Lamb for Supper with divers Liquours made of Malt in an execrable Manner. We drank Your Graces health in them however (Bumpers) to shew (to one an other) our great regards and respects to you. And amongst many Material things in our Conversation, it was Nemine Contradicente agreed, That Your Grace had writ a most Tyranical Letter, to the Brigadier, And that altho, if he were not a Blockhead, Blockheadissime, he might see there was a fund of Love in the bottom of it, Yet it had so hard an Outside, that a Man of a Moderate Understanding, might have some Sudden thoughts of hanging himself upon it. In short, he is of too great importance to our Board, to be parted with till Wednesday evening at Soonest; Tuesday and Wednesday being days for passing Monthly Accounts. If he do's not Attend your Grace in 24 hours after, if you Please to hang him, the Tate a Tate say they have nothing to object. So much for the Brigadier.

Jacob Tonson, too—so often the host of the Kit-Cats at Barn Elms—is a good subject to joke about. He and Vanbrugh were a pair of close friends who for long prided themselves on their mutual bachelorhood. So when, in 1719, Vanbrugh falls away from single blessedness by marrying Henrietta Yarbrough, he reckons that Tonson, on hearing of his engagement, will have the shock of his life, and he writes to Newcastle:

Jacob will be frightened out of his Witts And his Religion too, when he hears I'm gone at last. If he is still in France, he'll certainly give himself to God, for fear he shou'd now be ravish'd by a Gentlewoman. I was the last Man left, between him and Ruin.

Tonson was on business in Paris, where he would be conveniently situated for "giving himself to God," that is, becoming a monk, and so, a few months later, Vanbrugh pretends to the duke that this has really happened and that a friend in Paris "actually Saw Friend Jacob in a Frock." Vanbrugh, both to the duke and to Tonson, is very apologetic as to the step he has taken, and tells the latter in July that, although he does not repent his marriage, yet—

I am confirm'd (as far as Six months practice goes) my Old Opinion was right; That whatever there was of good or bad in Marriage; it was fitter to end One's Life with, than begin it.

He had previously confessed to the duke that he hoped that, having chosen as a wife a lady who was a relation of the duchess, he had made no mistake. Yet, if he had, "'tis better to make a

blunder towards the end of one's Life than at the beginning of it." As a matter of fact, Vanbrugh's seven years of married life appear to have been very successful. His wife was the daughter of Colonel Yarbrough, of Snaith Hall, in Yorkshire, and he probably met her at Castle Howard, as it was from there, on the cold Christmas Day of 1718, that he wrote to Newcastle that he had "almost a mind to marry to keep myself warm." A month later the wedding took place at St. Laurence Church, York, and soon after he will have brought his wife home to his new house at Greenwich, from which so many of his later letters are dated. From there we hear that the forgiving Tonson, secure in his own bachelorhood,



liv.—THE HALL AT GRIMSTHORPE.

entertained the married pair at Barn Elms. It is from Greenwich, also, that Vanbrugh dates his letter to Tonson describing the 1725 expedition with Carlisle and his daughters to Bulstrode and Shotover, Oxford and Woodstock—where Duchess Sarah forbade the Vanbrughs stepping through her gates—and then on to Stowe, where they were Lord Cobham's guests. It all sounds like an old man's idyll, but the birth of a son was the chief joy and pride of the father's last years. Lord Carlisle stood sponsor to him and is given news of his godson's progress and doings. The father perceives signs of a childish bent towards architecture, and predicts his future fame in that calling. It was not, however, his father's later, but his earlier, profession that the lad followed, for he became an officer in the Guards and, as such, fought and fell in the Austrian Succession War. Born in 1720, his father's death in 1726 left him an orphan at the age of six, and he was only twenty-five years old when the English defeat at Fontenoy occurred. His closest friend and fellow-officer was Joseph Yorke, a younger son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. They campaigned together, mostly in the Low Countries, during the war, and fought at Fontenoy on May 11th, 1745. Yorke got through unhurt, but Vanbrugh was wounded, not, as it was first thought, seriously, so that Yorke wrote



lv and lvi.—THE COLUMNS AT BRITWELL COURT.

next day to the Lord Chancellor, "Mr. Vanbrugh has two wounds, I have just seen him, and he will, I believe, do very well." He wrote the same account to Lady Vanbrugh, but a week later there was a turn for the worse, and Yorke had to convey the news of her son's death to the bereaved mother through her factotum, John Jones.

The letter, given in the *Genealogist*, Vol. II, page 239, and in Yorke's *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, 1913, Vol. I, page 400, is as follows :

Mr. Jones,

After the letter I had the honour to write to my Lady Vanbrugh with regard to the welfare of my dearest friend, to which I got him to write a postscript, I know not how to sit down to write so very different an account at present ; not only from the shocking circumstances of being the person to send the most unwelcome news her ears have ever heard, but from the miserable unhappy state I am myself in, whilst I write this. It would be ridiculous in me to screen his death from you. How to break it to his poor mother God above only knows ; and yet it must be done. Alas, those who knew him best must feel it most. I cannot comfort anyone, tho' I wish it ; to say I have lost the only one in all my acquaintance with whom I had made so strict a friendship, is what makes my blood freeze with horror. My support, my comfort, my adviser, my everything is gone. The thought makes me distracted. This only pleases me in the reflection that after having suffered with unparallel'd heroism and sweetness of temper, 20 hours of the most racking torture, the Almighty of His goodness took him to Himself. I must tell you the particulars of his death. For some time we had hopes, but we found yesterday the ball so fixed to the main bone of the thigh that it was in vain to attempt the taking it out : however, with the assistance of Mr Middleton and Mr Adair (the best surgeon in the army and whose care of him was very particular) we made an incision upon the part yesterday, but without success. I saw him a few hours before he died and kissed him, I was sure for the last time, and so it happened ; for at 12 o'clock last night he was freed from misery and left his friends in despair. The last words he spoke was his concern for his mother and his regret in leaving me : nothing else affected him in dying. Judge then what I suffer : But poor Lady Vanbrugh, let the news be told her in the softest manner that it can and when she can bear it :—tell her his dearest friend performed the last sad friendly office he could do him, to see him decently buried, which I saw performed at Ath this day at 12 o'clock.

Would it had been possible to have shewn any other mark of the excess of esteem and love I had for him. I can write no more on a subject which flutters me to such a degree that it is all I can do to support it. His enemies felt the effects of his courage in the day of battle : with 40 men he routed a whole French Battalion ; but alas ! his friends feel

the loss too deeply now. Poor Joseph I have now with me, who will soon go for England : his fidelity to his Master is not to be exceeded. His horse and camp equipage I will order to be sold and the other things shall remain till you tell me what is to do. Pray let me know how my poor lady does : what, what will she do ? If anything can add to the misery to have lost so good, so dear a friend, 'tis to be the Raven that must croak this in all your ears. I am but a Job's comforter, but I must be forgiven, the loss touches me so near. Adieu ! Comfort yourselves ! He died in his calling, in the eyes of his Prince and like a Hero for his Country. I can say no more.

Your afflicted, miserable Friend and Servant.

Joseph Yorke.

Thus, Sir John Vanbrugh had no descendant to take up his defence. That many had thought little of, or had even frankly despised, his architecture in his lifetime did not matter much to him, for he had hosts of friends who not only admired his work but gladly employed him ; while those hostile to his manner were equally severe on that of Wren. Thus, in " A Letter Concerning Design," addressed in 1712 to Lord Somers by the third Earl of Shaftesbury—the first of the *dilettanti* and the most influential writer on æsthetics of the time—Both Wren and Vanbrugh were violently attacked :

We have seen the noblest public buildings perish (if I may say so) under the hand of one single court architect. But I question whether our patience is like to hold out much longer at the hearing of a new palace spoilt, or a new design committed to some rash and impotent pretender. . . . Hardly indeed, as the public now stands, should we bear to see a Whitehall treated like a Hampton Court, or even a new Cathedral like St. Paul's. Even those pieces, too, are brought under common censure, which, though raised by private men are of such grandeur and magnificence as to become national monuments. . . . When a great man builds he will find little quarter from the public, if, instead of a beautiful pile, he raises, at a vast expense, such a false and counterfeit piece of magnificence, as can justly be arraigned for its deformity by so many knowing men in the art.

Shaftesbury, clearly, had Blenheim and Castle Howard in mind, and grouped them with Wren's masterpieces as bastard and, therefore, bad. The architecture that he was encouraging and



lvii.—A GATEWAY AT NEW MALTON, YORKSHIRE.



lviii.—THE LOCK-UP AT WHEATLEY, OXFORD.



lix.—A CHIMNEYPiece AT BRITWELL COURT.

was instrumental in popularising was the "correctly" classic style of Palladio that Lord Burlington, Colin Campbell and Kent were about to transplant into England. Campbell, as we have seen (page xxviii), was the professional favoured by the Benson clique, and to his personal antipathy to Vanbrugh was added difference in æsthetic views. As those proclaimed and practised by the Burlingtonians prevailed after Vanbrugh's death, the tide turned irresistibly against him. He gets no word of praise from the *cognoscenti* of George II's time. Dr. Evans writes the famous epitaph that is generally ascribed to Pope. Horace Walpole seldom mentions him, and then with disparagement as a mere producer of "unmeaning maffes." The great Lord Chesterfield, very much an arbiter of taste in his day, writes a letter to his son in 1776 about Nîmes, calling the Maison Quarrée "the finest piece of architecture I ever saw," but the amphitheatre "the clumsiest and the ugliest; if it were in England everybody would swear it had been built by Sir John Vanbrugh." Yet a few years later, two Englishmen, who knew and felt more deeply and honestly about architecture and art than the cynical earl with his Gallican taste and predilection for rococo, gave vent to their appreciation of Vanbrugh's high qualities. Robert Adam, who prided himself on the "scenery" of his own ceremonious interiors, held that "Sir John's genius was of the first class, and in point of movement, novelty and ingenuity his works have not been exceeded by anything in modern times"—by "modern times" meaning, of course, the Renaissance age.

This quality of "movement," so highly prized by Adam, became the principal object of the next generation's appreciation of Vanbrugh's work. The definition of it, therefore, given by Adam in the first part of his *Works*, published in 1773, is of enough importance to any critical estimate of that work to warrant its being quoted.

Movement is meant to express the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesqueness of the composition, for the rising and falling, advancing and receding of the great parts have the same effect in architecture that hill and dale, foreground and distance, have in landscape; that is, they serve to produce an agreeable and diversified contour that groups and contrasts like a picture, and creates a variety of light and shade which gives great spirit, beauty and effect to the composition.

Such relationship between architecture and landscape was, as we have seen, one of the objects that Vanbrugh set before himself, and it was by it that Adam judged him to be "of the first class." It is his original and personal contribution to architectural design. He set out to embody in his architecture the visual qualities that please the eye in a real or painted landscape. He used mass as a painter used it at that epoch—to produce designs in light and shade. If he is the first architect of landscape, he is the first and almost the only landscaper of architecture.

In the essentially rational phase that accompanied Robert Walpole's administration he became, as Adam put it, "a great man whose reputation has long been carried down the stream by a torrent of undistinguished prejudice & abuse." At the same time, Adam could only consider Vanbrugh's buildings as "rough jewels." To him they were undigested feasts. Their originality struck him as a "barbarous absurdity" that must on no account be copied, admirable as they were as preliminary suggestions for "the ingenious artist who knows how to polish & define & bring them into use." That was Adam's own method of design. His Italian sojourn led him to invent on paper vast baroque compositions. But in practice he whittled down and "refined" such conceptions till they assumed the "elegance" of his characteristic work.

The influential leadership and the close organisation of the Palladio-loving Burlingtonian group succeeded for a time in completely eclipsing the more native and individual mode of Wren and Vanbrugh. Even Hawksmoor, during the decade that he survived Vanbrugh, tended to lapse from Vanbrugh towards Burlingtonian ideals. Yet we have already noted that something of the Vanbrugh manner established itself and even lingered in Yorkshire and Gloucestershire, where the amateurs who had followed him or the master masons who had worked under him produced such houses as Frampton (page 257) and Britwell. Even Kent, dweller although he was within the "pure" precincts of Burlington House, carried on Vanbrugh's massiveness in architecture and landscape tendencies in garden making. But the Palladian cult was long supreme, and only when, in its turn, it grew dim did the sun once more begin to shine on Blenheim and Castle Howard. In his thirteenth discourse, delivered in 1786, Reynolds, following Adam in an effort to substantiate a lively visual, in place of a tired rational, approach to design, went back to Vanbrugh. But, whereas Adam had gone to the root of

his method, revealing his feeling for landscape as a plastic conception, Reynolds was more superficial. Not uninfluenced by the growing "Gothick Taste," he instanced Vanbrugh as showing how mediæval features, such as towers and battlements, could be picturesquely introduced into classic designs. Irregularity itself, he suggested, might, perhaps, share the field with symmetry, and buildings thereby be given "something of scenery." This "something of scenery" he found in Vanbrugh's buildings. Looking at them as a painter—that is, from the picturesque point of view—he insisted on Vanbrugh's originality in handling light and shade, and particularly in the unity of his buildings with their landscape. Vanbrugh to him was—

an architect who composed like a painter, and was defrauded of the reward of his merits by the wits of his time who did not understand the principles of composition in poetry better than he; and who knew little or nothing of what he understood perfectly—the general principles of architecture and painting. His fate was that of the great Perrault; both were the objects of the petulant sarcasm of factious men of letters; and both have left some of the fairest ornaments which to this day decorate their several countries: the façade of the Louvre, Blenheim and Castle Howard.

Reynolds's pupil, James Northcote, subsequently showed the same fervour towards



lx.—VANBRUGH'S STONE SCREEN IN THE HALL AT AUDLEY END.



lxi.—VANBRUGH'S STAIRCASE AT AUDLEY END.

Vanbrugh, describing him to Hazlitt as "a black sheep for no reason in the world, except that he was cleverer than they; that is, could build houses & write verses at the same time." As the picturesque—that is, the painter's—attitude to scenery and, consequently, to architecture increased in popularity Vanbrugh's admirers grew more numerous. Uvedale Price, in his *Essay on Architecture & Buildings*, published in 1798, considered that "no mansion of regular, finished, ornamental architecture that I have seen, has, from such a number of points, so grand an appearance" as Blenheim. He proceeds to develop a complete æsthetic theory that adopted massive, irregular and dramatic design as a basic principle because of its picturesque appearance, and he instances Vanbrugh throughout as the great exemplar. Like Adam, he advised architects to—

make drawings of Blenheim, endeavouring to preserve the principle of light and shade, the architectural foreground, the effect of the raised decorations on the roof, but trying at the same time to give more lightness and purity of style to that whole.

Price's ally in the picturesque crusade, Richard Payne Knight, in his *Inquiry into the Origins & Principles of Taste*, published in 1805, was equally appreciative of Vanbrugh's pictorial skill in composition. Thence onwards for forty years, architects gave to Vanbrugh something like the admiration they have recently given to Wren. Houses were designed, as Adam and Price had recommended, with Vanbrugh's dramatic outlines, but with Grecian delicacy in the details. Dunglass in Haddingtonshire, dating from 1807 to 1813 and designed by Richard Crichton and Alexander Nasmyth, the landscape painter, exemplifies not only this combination, but the collaboration of painter and architect in the design, as Uvedale Price had recommended (Fig. lxii). In the books of architects' designs published during the first forty years of the nineteenth century Vanbrugh's name is mentioned more frequently than that of any other architect. The origin of thousands of town and suburban houses, classic in detail but irregular in design—embodying round-headed windows, towers, gables, chimneys linked by arches, and other features of dubious ancestry—can be traced to a mixed affection for Swiss chalets, Italian villas and Blenheim Palace.

Partly owing to the unfortunate results of this misapplied admiration, partly to the rising supremacy of Ruskin and Gothic, and subsequently to the revival of respect for Wren, the cloud of obloquy once more descended upon Vanbrugh. But, to-day, architecture has in many respects come round again to a position analogous to that existing two and a quarter centuries ago, when Vanbrugh first appeared on the scene. A period of comparative international peace and of a desire for buildings with Wren's gentlemanly characteristics was succeeded by a long war involving all Europe. It is curious and significant that the periods of Vanbrugh's ascendancy have coincided with, or immediately followed, phases of international unrest. The Louis XIV, Napoleonic and the Great Wars seem to have led men to require a similar drama and turbulence in architecture and, accordingly, to a sympathy for the designs of this extraordinary genius.

Less fanciful than such historic analogies is the fact that architecture to-day is striving to enlarge its scope, to find more stimulating and original answers to the age-old problems of building. We are detached from, and can appreciate impartially, both Gothic and classic traditions of design. It is inevitable that we should, in such a transitional phase, be drawn towards the work of a man who was similarly independent of both conventions, and who contrived to combine the essentials of architecture in an imaginative and original way.

Whether Vanbrugh can be set among the great architects of the world, or even of this country, is a complex question, the answer to which involves our whole attitude to art. Among the architects of humanism who have exalted the emotions and forms of life by their metamorphosis into forms of art he must be set on a level with Michelangelo and Bernini.

On the other hand, there seems no doubt that he was uncertain, not to say unskilled, in the science of building. Without Hawksmoor as his right hand in the spheres of construction and draughtsmanship, and without such acting and resident architects or clerks of the works as Wakefield and Etty, Coleman and Joynes, it is doubtful whether his grand conceptions could have been materialised to bear up their own dead weight. As an inventor of varied and choice details, such as gave scope to the highly developed craftsmanship of his day, he cannot be given any high place.

Dramatic as are his compositions, in common with all Baroque architecture, they lack that abstract quality which eternally quickens the greatest works of art. Before his buildings we are

overwhelmed not with the intuitive rightness of the whole, not by any perfection or economy of means, but by a rich profusion and by a muscular vitality that never weakens into tiresome redundancy or trivial vivacity. Of subtlety, of spiritual intensity, even of clear reasoning, there is little in his conceptions. In these respects they cannot compare with Wren's. But they are spontaneously original, they are emphatic expressions of a worship of scenery, and have an emotional power, now solemn, now genial, that would never have been suspected of the author of "The Provoked Wife." In that high-spirited play he wrote a song that might be taken as descriptive of himself as an architect :

When my head's full of wine
I o'erflow with design
And know no penal laws that can curb me :
Whate'er I devise
Seems good in my eyes
And Religion ne'er dares to disturb me.



lxii.—DUNGLASS, HADDINGTON.

A nineteenth-century house in the Vanbrugh manner.

Understand "Religion," in the last line, in its wider sense of the quest for abstract, objective truth, and that verse may go as "honest Van's" auto-epitaph.

His dramatised masses were conceived with the same rapidity as that with which, warming over the wine at a Kit-Cat feast, he flashed epigrams that set the table in a roar. No mind in a state of calm sobriety could have imagined Blenheim, or have summoned the resourceful energy to carry the project to completion through a maze of soul-destroying obstacles. Vanbrugh's genius and defects were those of the vigorous, impulsive and not very delicate society in which he was one of the most popular figures. Cibber tells us that he wrote his plays as he habitually talked, and he will have dashed out the sketches of his buildings as they surged into his imagination. A strain of self-mistrust, of the diffidence that imposes selective examination on designs invented in hot blood, might have given both to his plays and buildings something finer and more enduring than the undisciplined vigour which is their pre-eminent characteristic. It

is the very facility of his designs, prodigious as it is, that excludes them from the very first rank of architectural achievements. Imagined at high temperature, they have been rushed from conception to materialisation without being subjected to that fiercer, but purer, firing of humility, which, had it been part of their mental equipment, would have raised Vanbrugh as an architect and Tiepolo as a painter to the throne of their respective arts.

Such perfection is scarcely for this world, and, therefore, let us gratefully recognise in Vanbrugh, if not a Titan, then a Leviathan, in the arts of living.



lxiii.—A HOUSE IN ST. MICHAEL'S STREET, OXFORD.

It is called Vanbrugh House and, if not designed, must have been inspired by him.

CHAPTER I

CASTLE HOWARD, YORKSHIRE

WE have seen that the designing of Castle Howard was the earliest architectural effort in which, so far as we have any evidence, Vanbrugh was concerned. He was at work on it in 1699. Yet a letter that he wrote a fortnight before his death in 1726 deals with details of the still quite unfinished creation. It, therefore, covers his whole architectural career, and the surviving documents relating to the building of house and dependencies yield us interesting side lights as to his architectural aspirations and functions.

The already quoted letter (page xv) that Vanbrugh wrote to Lord Manchester in December, 1699, contains hints as to the beginnings of the Castle Howard scheme. The various estates that Lord William Howard—better known as Bald Willie or Belted Will—struggled for in the days of Elizabeth as the right inheritance of his wife, the Dacre heiress, were recovered by him in or about 1600. The chief members of these territorial possessions were the estates of Naworth in Cumberland, of Morpeth in Northumberland and of Henderskelfe in Yorkshire, all of which descended to Lord William's male heirs. His great-grandson Charles, although he was of Cromwell's Life Guards and sat in his House of Lords, made his peace at the Restoration and was created Earl of Carlisle in 1661. His son, who succeeded him in 1685, only lived another seven years, when his son Charles became third earl at the age of twenty-three, and soon distinguished himself not only in politics, but, in a minor degree, as a writer and poet. Mackey, in his "Characters," calls him—

a gentleman of great interest in the country and very zealous for its welfare; hath a fine estate and a very good understanding; with very grand deportment; is of a middle stature and fair complexion.



I.—THE NORTH SIDE OF THE MAIN BUILDING OR "MAIN PILE."

Thus we see that he was thirty years old when he arranged for Vanbrugh to erect at Henderskelfe a great house of the newest type in place of the old-fashioned castle that stood, with its church and dependencies, on a tableland with fall, north and south, to watery meads, and with rise, east and west, to timbered ridges. We have no direct information of how Vanbrugh came to talk over the scheme and so impressed the earl with his views on architecture that the latter decided to put him in charge of the great project in preference to the heads of the profession, such as Wren and Talman, the Surveyor and Comptroller of H.M. Works, and, therefore, both officially concerned in the building of Hampton Court Palace then in hand. The decision to appoint the untried and untrained man must have been reached some time before Vanbrugh wrote the letter to which reference has just been made. Lord Manchester had been Ambassador at Venice, but in the spring of 1699 was appointed to France. Before taking up the latter post he spent some months in England, and must have heard a good deal of Carlisle's plans before leaving for Paris in August. Thus, he will have been interested to hear what progress had been made towards their realisation by December, when, with much general information, Vanbrugh tells him of his having been at Castle Howard during the summer and of having visited other great houses in the north—for instance, Chatsworth, where Talman was busy re-building for the Duke of Devonshire. The duke had been shown the Castle Howard plans, which he had "absolutely approved." Many other critics had seen them during the autumn, no objection had been raised, and, says their author, "the model is preparing in wood, which when done is to travel to Kensington, where the King's thoughts upon 't are to be had."

Had that model survived, we should have known how far Vanbrugh's first proposal agreed with the building as it came to take shape. Such models, carefully made by experienced joiners, were then not unusual. Thus, a few years before that of Castle Howard was "preparing," Charles Hopson, one of the chief joiners engaged at St. Paul's, and afterwards a master of the Joiners' Company, included in his account an item for "making the Modell of the Roofe for the middle Isle of the Choire & for a Box to put it in," and followed that with a further charge "ffor time spent and Stuffle used in making a Modell for y^e Seats in y^e Choire," and also for models for the altar, organ case, organ bellows, Dean's seat and choir organ case.

We have seen (page xviii) that Nicholas Hawksmoor, also, was employed at St. Paul's as a member of Wren's architectural staff since 1691, and in 1700 we have documentary evidence of his occupying the same or even a rather more important position relative to Vanbrugh at Castle Howard.

As we mainly hear of Vanbrugh's and Hawksmoor's visits to Henderskelfe through their letters written to Carlisle on such occasions as they are there in his absence, and thus have cause to write reports to him, our knowledge of the early stages of building operations is fragmentary. Fortunately, two letters, one from each architect, referring to preliminaries, do survive. That from Vanbrugh is merely headed "Tadcaster, Sunday noon." It is as follows :

I am got no farther than Tadcaster yet, My Lord Burlington carrying me away with him to Lanesborough. I wish't I cou'd possibly have stay'd there 'till tuesday, that I might have seen y^r L^dship, and known whether you are come to an agreement with the mason & carpenter. I talk't a great deal to 'em both, the morning I came away ; but found 'em very unwilling to come to any abatement. They made a world of protestations of its being impossible, without letting the work pay for't ; they say'd they believ'd y^r L^dship might expect some abatement from their proposall as a thing of course ; but that Mr Hawksmoor had persuaded 'em to make no provision for that, but to make the lowest offer they cou'd possibly work for, and do it well. I ask't Mr Hawksmoor alone, what he really thought on't ; He said they were indeed come as low, as he ever expected to bring 'em ; and yet perhaps it was not impossible for 'em to work lower, but the danger he apprehended in reducing 'em was this ; that since they so positively declar'd, they could not do the best work lower, and that if they lessen'd their rates, they must save themselves in the performance, it was to be fear'd (unless they have more honesty than is reasonable to expect) they might take this pretence, to performe the work ten per Cent worse for five per Cent they were reduc't, since there was no direct form of Workmanship cou'd be agreed on, when once they had got loose from being oblig'd to the best. So that this wou'd give 'em a loophole to play the Rogue very much, and one cou'd not tell how to redress it : whereas, if they have the rates they have propos'd, they own themselves engag'd to do as good work as that they received twice as much for, at London, and by consequence they have no room left for evasion. This I own seem'd a strong reason to me, not to insist upon much abatement ; especially since all those articles y^r L^dship desir'd it in, would mount to no great matter. However, I advisd him to persist in it with 'em, 'till he had privately spoak again with your L^dship, and known your thought on't. I fancy, my Lord, if stuck to it, they have comply'd with you, rather than make a fruitless journey ; but yet I own I shall be glad to hear you have agreed to such a bargain as they own themselves satisfy'd with ; for 'twere a pitty there shou'd be any miscarriage in the work for a small matter.

I spoak to Mr Hawksmoor about his perticular concern and found him as he us'd to be, so he intended to ask y^r L^dship fourty pound a year Sallary & fifty each journey w^{ch} mounts to £100 clear. I hope he'll deserve it, and



2.—THE CENTRE OF THE MAIN PILE.



3.—THE NORTH FRONT AS IT IS.

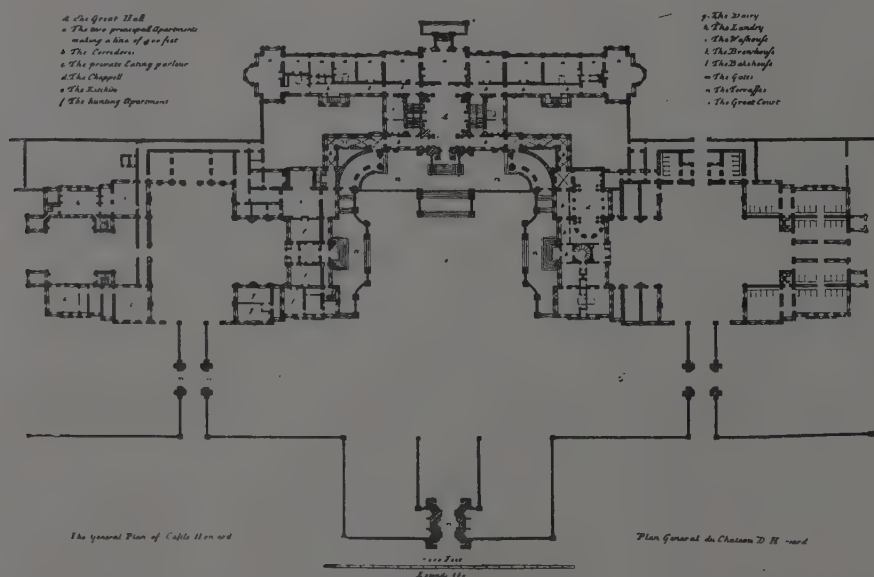


4.—THE NORTH SIDE, WITH FRONT AND SIDE COURTS, AS DESIGNED BY VANBRUGH.

that all will go to y^r L^dships satisfaction, for I shou'd be very sorry to have meddled in anything shou'd do otherwise. being very much y^r L^dships humble Servant. J. VANBROOK.

I shall be about Chester at least a week. If y^r L^dship has any service for me, please to direct me at Mr Samuëll Taylors in Chester.

As neither year nor month is mentioned, we have to date this letter from internal evidence. The name of Lord Burlington gives the idea that the "Appollo of the Arts" was first Vanbrugh's and then Lord Carlisle's host. That would mean that the letter could not be earlier than 1716, when the third Earl of Burlington (whom we find consulted later on as to Castle Howard) returned from Italy and came of age. But it is quite clear that it is the second earl that the letter refers to, for it is devoted to matters preliminary to the commencement of the building of Lord Carlisle's great house, the accounts for which begin in 1701. The letter shows us Hawksmoor as already engaged as subsidiary architect, but with his remuneration still a matter of negotiation. The appointment of a master mason and master carpenter is also, as



5.—VANBRUGH'S PLAN OF THE COMPLETE DESIGN.

yet, unfixed. Londoners, such as Edward Strong and John Langland, who were the leaders in these crafts employed by Wren and with whose work and character Hawksmoor would be well acquainted, will have been interviewed in London by Vanbrugh before he left. The client had evidently preached cheapness, while the architects were more concerned with quality, and they sought to establish the best alliance between the two. The matter of the master mason was

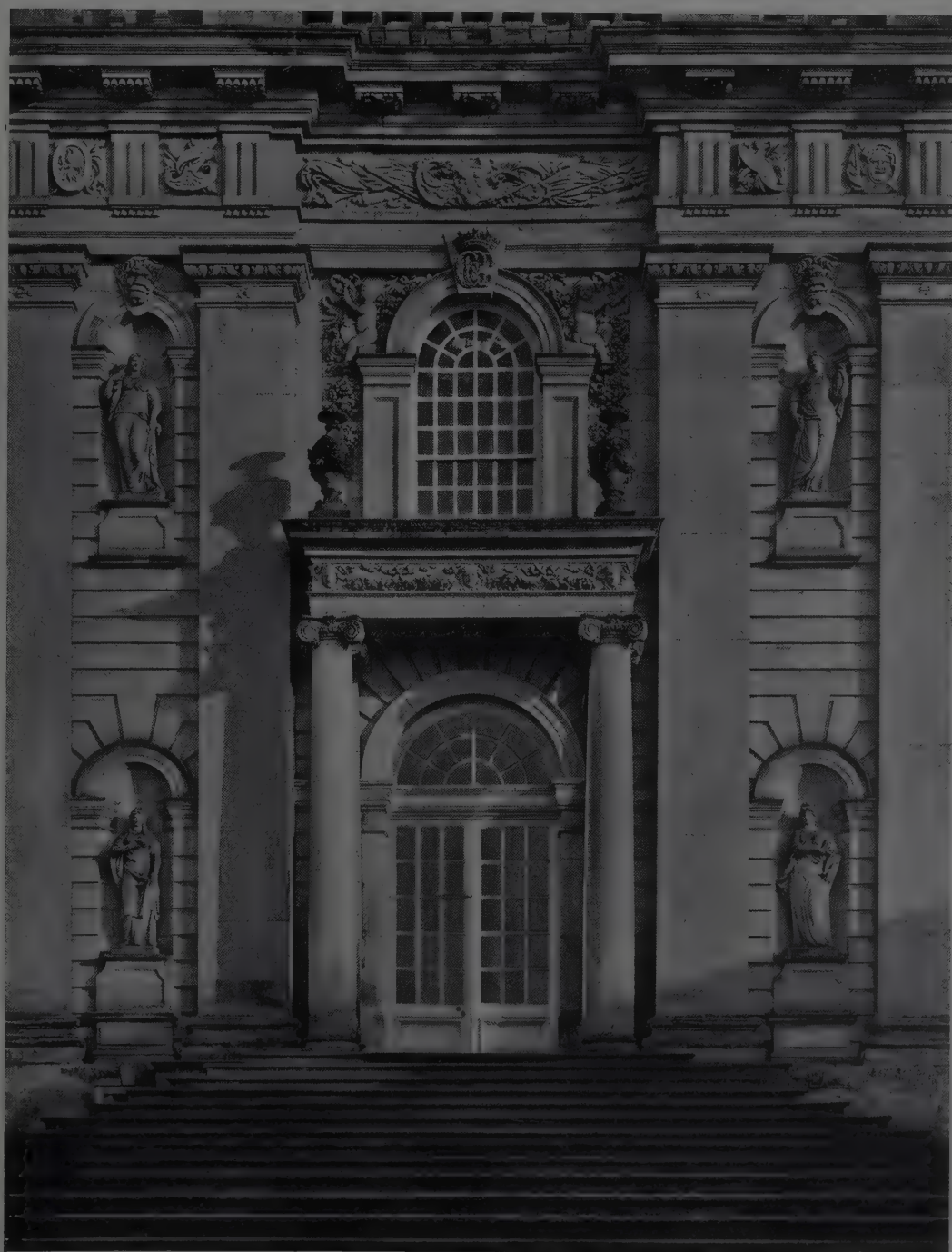
settled in time to begin work in the spring of 1701, and it must have been before this and during the season when great Yorkshire landowners, like Burlington and Carlisle, visited their country seats, that Vanbrugh wrote. That season generally began in August, went on for some three months, and was even sometimes extended till Christmas. So that we may feel certain that the architects interviewed the craftsmen and that the Tadcaster letter was written in the autumn of 1700.

Hawksmoor's letter is rather later, being dated May 26th, 1701. It is written from Henderskelfe, and addressed to Lord Carlisle in London. We see from it that building operations were already in progress, although, as we gather from the last sentence, Hawksmoor had, at first, been against so much haste. He says :

I find the work at Henderfcelf to go on with vigour and g^t induftrie althou there is not so much done as I expected by this time but the impediment has been by the backward feafon which has much



6.—THE WEST SIDE OF VANBRUGH'S EAST WING.



7.—THE FRONT DOOR.

obstructed it. I am come time enough to regulate some errours and difficultys the workmen were going into and in generall the worke is firm and strongly performed the situation y^r L^p has choise is under the covert of y^e wood but it runs us into some hardship about levelling and making our accels to y^e great facade and principall Courts. I am taking all the declivitys and dispoition of y^e ground that y^r L^p may confider your plantations which I wifh were growing that they might not loofe time. The woods in the front of the houle belonging to S W^m Strickland I heartily wifh your Lp cou'd secure in your owne poffeffion and then I think the feat wou'd be without all objections. I have severall instructions and memorandums to draw up for the Workmen and I can see nothing to contradict the good execution of the work. I desire the mafon to gett on more hands that we may complete with expedition the new Wing and to do that will require another Kiln for Lime. The coals came hard, but now is the feason to gett them in which I hope your L^p will order not to be wanting for now I fhall wifh the conclufion of the works as earnestly as I was for oppofing the beginning of it. I fhall give your L^p a further acc^t by next poft.

Your Lps moft faithfull and obe^t

N. Hawksmoor.

The letter promised by the next post, if ever sent, is lost, and, indeed, we do not get any further letters concerning the building from either Vanbrugh or Hawksmoor (except a single one from the latter in 1706) until 1721. But a considerable quantity of account books, bills and receipts is preserved at Castle Howard, and, with Mr. Geoffrey Howard's permission, they have been studied, and we are now able to understand the *personnel* and to chronicle the dates of the erection of both the main edifice and its outliers. The negotiations with the London masons appear to have broken down, for the work was entrusted to a trio of locals. We must remember that York, as the capital of the north, was a centre of excellent craftsmen, upon whom Carlisle could, and no doubt did, very largely rely. Vanbrugh, in a letter written to the Duke of Marlborough in 1716, tells us that Carlisle "did his own bargains with masons" and exercised an economy of which the architect did not approve, for he goes on to say that Carlisle "began with ignorant masons at Lower Rates" and then gave more to have the work "tolerably done." The first payment made for the new building was the sum of £200 on account, paid in 1701 to "W^m Smith upon acc^t of himself & partn^s who hath obliged themselves to Build a new houle at Henders Kelfe."

In a different ledger, the first item that we find is for cash paid to the masons from March 31st, 1701, to September 29th, 1702, amounting in all to £1,223 10s. 8d. Such books were kept by successive stewards, the first being Lewis Elstobb, probably the son of Edward Elstobb, who, as early as 1680, and therefore in the first earl's time, made payments for repairs to the old castle. Lewis Elstobb is concerned with the new house (which we do not find called Castle Howard till about 1705) up to the year 1716. Whereas the stewards' books and the craftsmen's accounts are invaluable for details, a comprehensive view of building operations and cost is best derived from three diminutive volumes each entitled "Book of Disbursements relating to my Building," and wholly in Carlisle's handwriting. The first book begins with payments made on March 31st, 1701, and ends with the entry "Total disbursed upon account of my Building, Park & Gardens till Lady Day 1713. £35,008 1. 8d." The second book, ending in 1729, brings the expenditure up to £58,843 1s. 9d.; while the third book, which begins with the same clear, steady writing as we find in the whole of the first and second, shows signs of shaking in 1734, and becomes difficult to read before its last entry of, "Total disbursed on my Buildings, gardens, plantations, & out works to Mids 1737. £78,240 2. 10d." A year later the earl died.

In August, 1702, we get a copy of a contract with the masons (including a schedule of prices for various dressed or carved ashlar parts), written in an educated hand which is probably Hawksmoor's. It ends by saying that the earl will pay the scheduled prices if the work is well done but that—

If any Misunderstandings or disputes shall arise concerning the true meaning of these articles, or the well and workmanlike performance it is left to the arbitration and determination of Mr Vanbrugh and Mr Hawksmore.

No doubt, the masons gave some form of acknowledgment for payments on account, but the first formal receipt is dated September 1st, 1703, and is worded as follows :

Receev'd then of the Right Ho^{ble} y^e Earle of Carlisle & Earle Marshell of England for all the Masons Worke in the Office Wing and Likewise all y^e Masons Worke in My Lords Appartment & Circuler Coridoore and the Mainie Pille Measure'd up as to y^e Setting on of the Great Bafes which Worke Amounts to being finished to y^e Day Above to y^e fom of One thousand Nine hundred and Sixty Eight pounds nineteen shillings and flower pence I say Recevd by us

Will Smith.

John Ellsworth.

Manger Smith.

The three names of the master masons frequently occur. That of the first is so simple that everyone spells it aright; but Ellsworth is occasionally written Ellways, and the second Smith



8.—THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE MAIN PILE.



9.—FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



10.—FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

appears to exchange his Christian name of Manger or Mangor for the military title of Major, to which, no doubt, he had no right whatever.

All this time the old castle—standing, it is thought, a little to the south of the new house—will have been kept fit for occupation, although the family tradition that it had suffered from fire a few years earlier is probably correct. As to the new one, we learn from the letter, already quoted in the Introduction, that Vanbrugh wrote to Tonson in July, 1703, that he was going in August to Henderskelfe, where Carlisle already was, and from which he had written to Vanbrugh that he had “near 200 men at work” and that a new quarry had been found “much better than the old one, so all go’s smooth.” The whole of the ashlar used both within and without the house came from pits within the park, while from the Hildenley limestone quarry beyond the east boundary of the estate material came for paving and other such purposes.

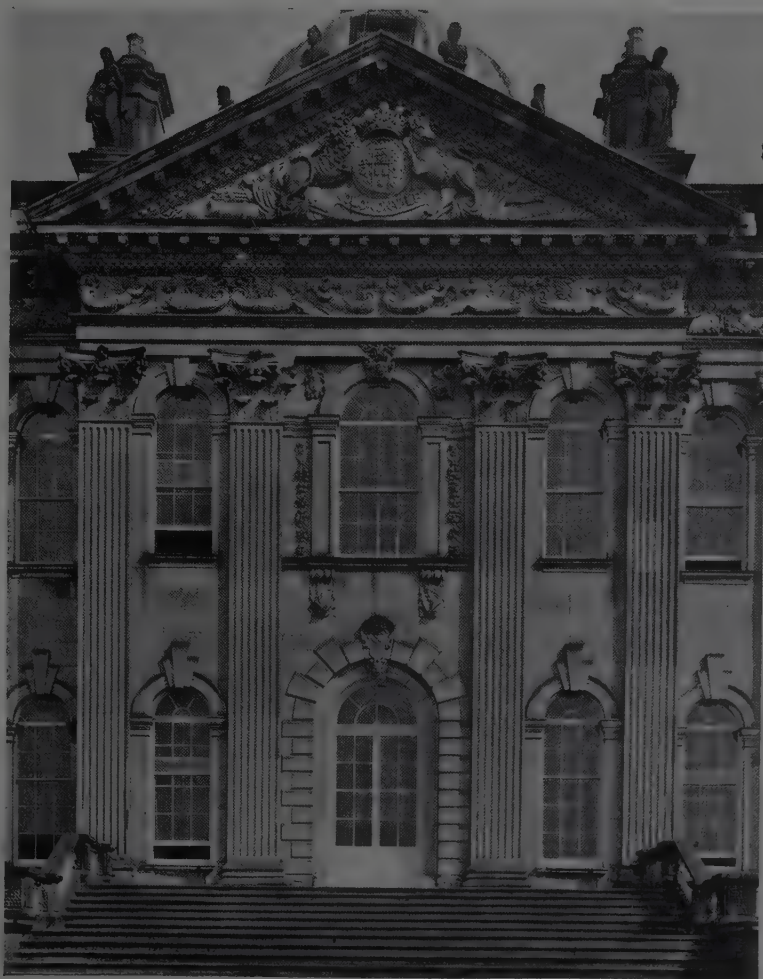
The presence, in 1703, of both master and architects and the employment of a large number of building operatives led to a rapid advance of the building operations at Henderskelfe; so that, before the year is out, we get “A Note of Mason Worke Don att the Grand Pile Since the Last Measurement,” including such highly finished details as fluted pilasters, “Rustique ashler in the North front & Coridoore, Panel’d Worke & Neaches.”

It is clear, therefore, that the great central block, or main pile, was already well in hand, although not so forward as the east, or office, wing that contained the family apartments, and was being urged on so as to enable Carlisle to inhabit the new house as soon as possible.

The plan and design for the whole edifice—as intended, but never completely executed by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor—appear in the first volume of the “*Vitruvius Britannicus*,” published in 1717. Colin Campbell, with his almost pedantic reverence for



11.—THE DOME.



12.—THE PEDIMENT.

Palladian and Vitruvian precepts, cannot have approved of Vanbrugh, for even Wren was too broad and free in his taste to meet with the approval of the purists who, in 1717, were gathering round the young Lord Burlington at his great Piccadilly house. But Vanbrugh had, by then, been made a knight and become a man of assured position both socially and professionally. It was, therefore, out of the question to exclude his principal works from the "*Vitruvius*," and in the first volume we get plans and designs of Castle Howard and of Blenheim. As to the former, it states: "The Plans, Elevations, and Sections are all drawn from the Originals of the Architect Sir *John Vanbrugh* and by him most carefully revised." There is no mention of Hawksmoor, thus showing that it was the accepted position that the latter was the former's assistant rather than coadjutor, although both at Castle Howard and at Blenheim it is certainly as the latter that he acted and was treated by Vanbrugh, who, as we shall see, had no objection to Hawksmoor independently discussing and settling various points at Castle Howard with their client. At Blenheim, we find Vanbrugh writing, in 1707, to Boulter, one of the "comptrollers," or clerks of works, "Mr Hawksmoor is of my opinion"; and again, "my opinion (and Mr Hawksmoors) is this." To Joynes, the other comptroller, Vanbrugh had written in the previous year as follows:

If you have with you my Lord Carlisle's Papers, You'll oblige me to draw the Two Fronts, pretty exact they being for the Engraver to work from; As for the Ornaments on the Top, with the Chimneys on the Main Pile, and the Cupola, I'll get Mr Hawksmoor to Add them here, for I believe you have not the last Designs of 'em.

This sheds light on the question of draughtsmanship. Vanbrugh was a masterly sketcher, but it is doubtful whether he ever accustomed himself to much use of the drawing-board. His first drafts would be put into shape by Hawksmoor, and when copies or working-drawings were wanted they were entrusted to an underling, such as Joynes, who, apart from his position at Blenheim and in the Office of Works, evidently had leisure to do non-official work for Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor.

Their scheme for Castle Howard, as the plan in the "*Vitruvius*" tells us (Fig. 5), "extends to 660 feet," of which the Main Pile occupies no more than 100ft. It is, however, 80ft. in depth, and east and west of its south side lower buildings with pavilion ends stretch out, making the elevation 320ft. in length. To the north (Fig. 4), interior corridors, with segmental external colonnades beyond them, connect the centre with the wings that stretch forward so as to form the inner section of the "great court," 180ft. across and 140ft. deep. This depth enables each wing to form a side of the enclosed base courts, the one to the east for domestic offices (Fig. 16), including wash-house, brewhouse and bakehouse, and the one to the west affording stabling for fifty-six horses. In the front of this comprehensive and symmetrical scheme lay the outer section of the great court, covering over an acre, and divided off from the entrances to the base court by walls and arched gateways. A more important and very Vanbrughian gateway was designed to serve as the main entrance to the great court. It is not set between columns or pilasters, but has a tall obelisk at each corner, while, above it, in a great plinth tapering up to support a ball, was to be a clock. This outer court was never constructed, nor were the stables in the position indicated. At the time of Vanbrugh's death steps were being taken to put the west wing in hand, but the matter was delayed until, as we shall see, a wing on quite a different plan—balancing, but by no means matching, the east wing (Fig. 6)—was built in 1753–59 from a design by Sir Thomas Robinson. The present stables (Fig. 57) were not erected until 1782, Carr of York being, no doubt, the architect.

Thus, to the south, Vanbrugh's work consists of the central block and its outliers (Fig. 10), except that, to the west, his pavilion was replaced by the larger mass of the end of the Robinson west wing (Fig. 9). To the north, Vanbrugh completed the Main Pile (Fig. 2) and also the whole scheme east of it—that is, not only the wing itself, with its very characteristic entrance (Fig. 17) from the base court, but the whole of the base court itself (Fig. 18), with the curious four-towered building at its east end. To the west of the Main Pile there was nothing on the north side until not only the west wing, but also its connecting corridor were built by Sir Thomas Robinson, while the west colonnade was never erected.

The journeys that, according to his agreement, Hawksmoor was to take at a cost of £50 each, probably took place every year, when all the work done was measured up. Certainly one occurred in 1705, when surviving documents show that he was present at the measuring up of the work done, not only by the master masons, but also by various other craftsmen, such as



13.—FROM THE EAST GARDEN ALLEY.



14.—FROM THE WEST GARDEN ALLEY.



15.—THE HOUSE, SEEN ACROSS THE LAKE.



16.—ENTRANCE TO THE BASE COURT.



17.—THE EAST SIDE OF THE EAST WING.

“Mr. Saby, Joyner, and Sam^l Carpenter,” who worked in wood and stone. The latter had been busy in “the Drawing Roome Next the Main Pile” and also in “My Lords Grand Cabinett,” where, in wood, he had carved “125 Cartozzas”—evidently his mode of spelling the word cartouche. He had also been busy on the stone embellishments of the south front, where he charges 50s. each for “27 Pilaster Capitalls of the Corinthian Order.” These will have included those of the Main Pile, where, also for 50s., he had carved “A Shield and Cherabin head Over the window,” which we recognise as the key-stone of the upper central window (Fig. 12).

For the same sort of work, and in the same year, the accounts show a payment of £137 2s. 7d. to “Mr Nedos.” He had been working in wood in the Grand Cabinet and in his lordship’s apartment, and also had carved in stone on the south front the tritons, lions and “tropheas”

in the entablature frieze (Fig. 8). The name, as spelt, looks like a corruption, and from a signed receipt we discover that this gentleman is no other than the Mons^r Nadauld who appears in the accounts of the building at Chatsworth, where Vanbrugh had, probably, seen him at work when he visited the Duke of Devonshire in the summer of 1699. In the next year, certainly, Nadauld was so fully installed there that he had a special shed put up for his use, and in 1703 £40 was paid to him "for carving y^e figure Fluvius, two Dolphins and two Vases for y^e Cascade." For the exterior of Castle Howard he not only carved the tritons and lions on the south front, but also the four figures that stand in the niches that flank the main entrance on the north side (Fig. 7).

The agreed measurements and prices for work done at the new house at Henderskelfe are never signed by Vanbrugh himself, but by Hawksmoor, to whose signature is added that of



18.—THE EAST, OR BASE, COURT.



19.—FROM BASE COURT TO WING.

William Etty. He probably belonged to York, which remained his headquarters, but, as Lord Carlisle's building progressed, he had a room in it, and will have spent much of his time there as resident and working architect, fulfilling the duties of clerk of works. So fully appreciated was he by Vanbrugh as an assistant that we find him acting for him at Seaton Delaval (page 278).

When the year 1706 was reached, the interior of the house at Castle Howard was occupying the attention of the architects as much as the outside. The measurements then taken show us that William Smith and his partners had rightly performed about £4,000 worth of masonry, a considerable amount of this being for the interior ashlar walls of hall and staircases, and for both walls and vaulting of the corridors or galleries. Such interior stonework, and most especially the dramatic and picturesque corridor scheme (Fig. 26), was a treatment new in English interiors. Later on, indeed, we find the Burlingtonian school introducing stone and stucco halls in great houses, such as Mereworth and Houghton, Holkham and Wentworth Woodhouse. But nothing considerable of the kind had yet been done when Vanbrugh designed Castle Howard, where, moreover, the conception of vast extent given by the four galleries—of which one stretches forth from each corner of the hall, presenting almost endless vistas at every turn—has no parallel in any English house, except where Vanbrugh repeated the idea at Blenheim. Such scenic conceptions Vanbrugh delighted in and was master of. We shall, probably, be near the mark if we conclude that, as regards exteriors, the whole marshalling of the masses and parts into a composition full of movement, and, as regards interiors, the dramatic pictures which his halls and galleries yielded, were Vanbrugh's special domain. He, and he alone, produced them. To the rest he gave much less care and attention. The manœuvring on the architectural chess-board of king and queen, bishops and castles, he reserved for himself. The pawns were Hawksmoor's affair, and he was admirably equipped for the task.

As pointed out in the Introduction, he acted as coadjutor rather than as assistant, and already, in 1706, we find him writing direct to Carlisle on various matters regarding the building of Castle Howard, and especially as to the details of rooms in the east wing, which was nearly ready for his lordship's occupation. Hawksmoor then had quarters at Greenwich, where he had recently passed from being clerk of the works to the higher position of deputy surveyor. It is from there that, on July 2nd, he informs Carlisle that Etty sends him word that "we goe on wth vigour at Hinderf Kelf and are turning the window arches of y^e Cupola." That important work was being urged on so that it might be "covered" before winter weather set in. From such general matters Hawksmoor then turns to the *minutiæ* of room fittings.

I have confider^d ye hanginge in the app^t of State as followeth.

1. that there be a Basement of Wainscot 2 foot 6 Inches or three foot from the floor having a proper molding to keep the hanging from Injury.
2. that there may be a Coveing and small Entablature y^e ceiling above.
3. that y^e compartments be very confiderable about y^e Doors and Chimny.

The peecees of hangings will be as followeth.

One peece of hanging—13 foot 6 Broad and 13' 6 high the Light striking in from y^e left hand as you look upon y^e sayd hangings.

One peece Ditto—13' 6 Broad and 13' 6 high the Light coming in from y^e Right hand.

One peece Ditto—9' 0 Broad and 13' 6 high this is on one fide y^e chimney & the light oppofite.

One peece Ditto—9' 0 Broad and 13' 6 high this is on the other fide y^e chimney & the Light oppofite.

The careful way in which the position of each piece is recorded, so that the tapestry maker might get his shadows right, shows Hawksmoor to have been what we conclude Vanbrugh was not, a master of detail. From this same letter we learn where the tapestries were to come from, for, after giving the sizes for those in "My L^{ds} Bedchamber," he adds, "These are y^e Neat meafures between Wood and wood what Mr Vanderbanc will allow on all fides for nailing, he can be left judge."

John Vanderbank was of Great Queen Street in Soho, and appears in the Royal Wardrobe Accounts soon after William III became king. He, more or less, carried on the Mortlake and Lambeth traditions, and produced sets of "The Elements," a favourite subject in England, mentioned in the Royal Wardrobe Accounts from 1678 to 1731. Of these he wove a set for Sir William Heathcote's new house at Hursley in Hampshire, in whose "Expenses Book" we find payments to the Vanderbank firm for such tapestries in 1723, 1724, and 1725. This set came up for sale at Christie's in February, 1921. Another product of the Soho tapestry weavers at this time were the "Indian" tapestries—that is, woven with scenes more or less copied from the lacquer screens and cabinets of China and Japan jotted down on a brown background. A set of these remains at Castle Howard. Vanderbank's tapestries were, evidently, in favour with Vanbrugh and



20.—THE HALL DOOR.

Hawksmoor, for the former, writing to the Duke of Newcastle in February, 1715, about the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields (page 168), says: "the Middle room in the Great Apartment above Stairs will be ready before *Mr Vanderbank*."

Passing from wall hangings, Hawksmoor next deals with "Chimny peeces," and after giving the sizes for those in "My Lords Drawing Roome, Bedchamber, Dressing roome, Cabinett, & my Ladys Dressing roome," he tells Carlisle that—

The Marbles for those Rooms in your L^{ps} owne appartm^t cannot be much vary^d from what I have propofe, and the Ornaments over them of Glafs and painting will admitt of fuch humour as will be agreeable.



21.—THE HALL CHIMNEYPIECE.

and Nadauld's bill shows an item of £90 for stone carving in "the Cupola." But work here continued a long while, for it is not until 1710 that he is paid for carving two keystones. There are various keystones carved with female masks in the hall. The arches that sustain the dome have them, but the two referred to are, probably, those over the front door (Fig. 20) and over the corresponding doorway leading into the garden hall. Nadauld's chief job, however, in 1710, was carving in wood in the range of great rooms that runs along the south side of the house. Deficient as was his command of English, he, evidently, wrote out his bills himself, so that we find our language Frenchified as follows :

for Caruaing the Corniche in the dinain romme. 94 foot at 3 Shelin per foot com to
The Sallon corniche is 114 foot at 3.
for — — — carued four frame 84 foot @ 1 sheling.
— — — freeze 115 foot @ 3/-

14 — 2sh.

During 1706 the leading craftsmen were busy in the same rooms. Nadauld carved in wood the cornices, friezes and capitals in "My Lords appar^t," while, in "the Drawing Roome Next the Main Pile" and in "My Lords Grand Cabinett," Sam. Carpenter executed innumerable "Cartozzas" and roses, carying them in wood at 4s. and 2s. 6d. each respectively. The chimneypieces for these rooms are in the hands of William Harvey, who makes them of "deal carved about." They have carved frames over them, and he also supplies other frames, such as those for pictures "above y^e Glaffes in y^e Cabinett." It is not easy, with all the changes that were made in the east wing during the nineteenth century, to identify any part of this work.

In the same year the hall, though the dome is incomplete, is having the attention of the carvers,



22.—THE HALL NICHE.

Vanbrugh carefully planned the approach to his hall door with a view to the visitor being impressed with a sense of grandeur before crossing the threshold. As shown in Fig. 1, the rise up to the pillared doorway is by two flights of five steps each that bring you on to a terrace in the centre of which is set a platform—reached on three sides by seven more steps—from which the door opens. The scene then disclosed is a very fine one. It is true that the whole composition of hall, stairways and corridors is somewhat small in floor space for its great height and the complexity of its parts. One gathers that there may have been some effort to balance the architects' ideas of grandeur with the client's requirements and purse. If so, the compromise was so cleverly managed that the impression is not one of disproportion. That would have occurred had the hall been enclosed, but is avoided by carrying the eye horizontally along the corridors (Figs. 28 and 29) to a greater distance even than vertically up to the dome (Fig. 23), while added spaciousness is given to the *coup d'œil* of the hall by the open arches above chimneypiece and pedimented niche (Fig. 22) through into the staircase spaces (Fig. 31). The general effect is much more one of sumptuous gaiety than of ponderous dignity. That effect was reserved for Blenheim. At Castle Howard grandeur is tintured with happy lightheartedness. It is the baroque style at its best—almost extravagant, indeed, in the chimneypiece (Fig. 21), but elsewhere possessed of a measure of reserve in its richness. We see how a whole band of artist-craftsmen have been at work in various materials. We have just left Nadauld carving in stone. At Chatsworth Tijou had been a fellow-worker in iron. Was he also responsible for the ironwork of the Castle Howard balustrades that so richly deck not only the staircases, but also the dome and first-floor galleries (Figs. 24 and 25)? Probably not. In 1735, when forecourt grilles and gates were being discussed, Hawksmoor recommends "Mr Montigu the frenchman, or Mr Pattison an ingenious Englishman" as smiths. But in 1712, when the hall was being completed, we are likely to be as much too early for either of these gentlemen as too late for Tijou. The lead that he had given had been followed by English smiths, who had gained full proficiency in his style, such as Bakewell in Derbyshire, Edney in Gloucestershire, and Robinson in the London neighbourhood. Except at Hampton Court, Kensington and Chatsworth, there was scarcely a staircase of stone with wrought-iron balustrading in England when Vanbrugh introduced such at Castle Howard. He had a predilection for them, and again used them at Audley End, Seaton Delaval and Grimsthorpe.

In addition to sculptured stone and hammered ironwork, the hall at Castle Howard is freely enriched with paintings. Dome and spandrels, soffits and wall spaces are thus fully decorated, the scheme not being limited to the hall proper, but spreading out into the adjacent stairway spaces. This was the work of the Italian, Antonio Pellegrini of Padua (1674–1741), who, as a manuscript catalogue of the pictures at Castle Howard informs us, "painted them in 1712." They are mentioned as having been executed by "Pilligrini" in the 1717 volume of the "Vitruvius Britannicus," while Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting," tells us that this artist was "brought from Venice" by the Earl of Manchester, with whom both Carlisle and Vanbrugh were intimate. As we stand underneath the dome (Fig. 23), we observe the horses of the sun entirely out of Phæthon's control and leaping down upon us. On one or other wall or ceiling space we find a whole set of the classic subjects habitually used by the history painters of the day. Here are Apollo and the Nine Muses; there, Venus and Mercury. The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac, the Four Elements and the Four Quarters of the Globe are all duly portrayed, while here and there are groups of ribboned musical instruments, as in the long narrow panels of the pilasters that support the arches into the staircases.

With so free and rich a use of dressed stone in the hall, it is curious that the chimneypiece should have been handed over to the stuccoist. The Italians of the baroque age had reached the highest point of technique in that material, and their stuccoists revelled in their mastery of their craft and were apt to give it exaggerated movement and excessive voluptuousness of form. Several of them came to England, and, despite Colin Campbell's condemnation of the late Italian school as having "debauched Mankind," he, at Mereworth and elsewhere, employed Bagutti and Altari, who also worked for Gibbs, Kent, Smith of Warwick and other architects of the day. That, however, was somewhat later than the year of the completion of the Castle Howard hall, where, presumably, an Italian stuccoist was given a free hand for its chimneypiece as well as for the stucco work in the High Saloon (Fig. 37), but who he was the surviving accounts do not seem to

reveal. The only plasterer whose bill is included was an Englishman, John Bagnall, and his work was principally the coating of walls and ceilings with plain plaster. His utmost excursion into the intricacies of the craft consisted of various mouldings and of simple plaster vaulting in the subsidiary corridors where stone was not used. Expectation, indeed, is raised by one of the items of the bill which he sends in in 1714 for "plastering done since 1711." This item refers to "the Hall Chimnie," but it goes into no explanation, and as the two charges under this head are only 2s. 10½d. and 5s. 4d., Bagnall's share of the work must have been exceedingly slight and subsidiary.

The principal interest in his bill lies in its showing us what rooms were ready for use and what their disposition was at this time. The offices, both in the house and in the four-towered base-court building, are enumerated. In the former are the servants' dining-room, the scullery, the plate room, the "baking" and the "pastry," while in the latter are dairy and wash-house, bakehouse and brewhouse. Somewhere or other William Etty has a bedchamber, and Elstobb has not only a closet and a room, but also a room for his man George. Cellars for ale, strong beer and other purposes are under part of the south rooms, and probably located in the same quarter is a "bathing-room." When Bagnall had done the plastering he went on to the "Whitening



23.—THE DOME.



24.—THE DOME BALUSTRADE.



25.—THE FIRST-FLOOR BALCONY.



26.—A DOWN-STAIRS GALLERY.

through Out all the Whole Building.” He also did plastering in many more important rooms, including the “Grand Cabinett,” and incidentally he enables us to surmise its location. It has a bow-window and is over a chamber. Now, the “Vitruvius Britannicus” plan shows semicircular bays looking out east and west at the ends of the long south front. The west end, which may never have been fully completed, was afterwards remodelled to form the south end of the changed wing. If ever built as first planned, this end is not likely to have been ready for interior treatment when we first get mention of the “Grand Cabinett” in 1706. But the east end of the south front—like the east wing—will have been completed early. Although its east elevation now lacks a bay-window and shows no decided signs of after-alteration, yet in the main-floor room (Fig. 39)—now called the Little Gallery and where the carving of the

Corinthian capitals of the elaborately enriched entablature which their pilasters support may well have been the work of Nadauld and of Carpenter—the bay-window may have been so designed in relation to pilasters or entablature that its after removal called for little interior redecoration. We, therefore, surmise that this was the “Grand Cabinett,” and that the room underneath—of which the floor is not below the ground level—may well have been a bedchamber, for Vanbrugh’s design gave so little upstairs accommodation that there are three chambers among the twelve rooms which the “Vitruvius Britannicus” plan shows occupying the whole length of the south building and calls “the two principal Apartments.” Now there are only nine before the later west wing is reached. In the eastern arm the small rooms were converted into a large dining-room in recent times, and westward there are only three rooms between the central garden hall and the wide end of the later west wing. The garden hall (Fig. 32) is entered through the great south portal of the main hall. That prevents this position being occupied in the garden hall by the chimney; and as the centres of the east and west walls are likewise occupied with doorways, fireplaces have to be given a secondary place by their side, and are, therefore, simply treated, their outline corresponding with that of the doorways. Above both fireplaces and doorways, and cut at the bottom to suit the curve, are oil paintings, in frames very likely carved by William Harvey. The paintings, as we are told by a visitor at Castle Howard in 1796, are chiefly the performances of Marco Ricci and Sebastian, his brother. Sebastian, as a matter of fact, was Marco Ricci’s uncle. Both were Venetians, in whose coming to England—as of that of Pellegrini—the Earl of Manchester was instrumental. The spaces between the doorways and south, or

windowed, wall are occupied by tables and mirrors of the period when the room was first furnished (Fig. 33), but the between-window mirrors are in later and more florid style, and must date from the last years of the third earl or the time of his successor.

East of this room lies one where the walls display a whole series of Venetian scenes from the brush of Canaletto (Fig. 38): Doorways and pictures above them are treated as in the garden hall, and the mirror over the marble chimney-piece is another excellent example of the closing years of Anne's reign. The garden hall ceiling displays goddesses, no doubt by Pellegrini, who also painted the Aurora on the ceiling of the room above (Fig. 35), which is of equal size, but greater loftiness, and is called the High Saloon. The stucco decorations that frame the painted panel of the ceiling will, surely, have been by the same hand as the hall chimney-piece:



27.—THE UPSTAIRS GALLERY, LOOKING EAST.

and that may also be said of the curiously composed and extravagantly enriched compositions that surmount the doorways and windows (Fig. 36). They show a different decorative conception and handling to anything else at Castle Howard, and sit curiously upon the simple and massive bolection mouldings of William III type that form the door architraves.

As already observed, Vanbrugh's plan provided very few upstairs chambers, for, except in the wings, the Main Pile alone has an upper floor, and most of this is taken up by hall, staircases and saloon. The chambers are, therefore, restricted to four, one by the side of each staircase and one on either side of the saloon. They retain elements of Vanbrugh's time, the one west of the saloon (Fig. 34) showing the great bolection moulded fire-arch and long, low three-plated mirror that obtained under William III and will still have been favourites with Hawksmoor when Castle Howard was designed. Above them is a panel of delicate wood carving that has not lost the character or, at least, the tradition of the Grinling Gibbons manner.

Of the proposed west wing, the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plan shows that half of it was to be taken up by a tripartite chapel, north of which lay chambers. It was, evidently, intended that this should be begun soon after the rest of the house was completed. We find the original master masons continuing at work till 1719, although William Smith had dropped out before then, and only Ellsworth and Mangor Smith send in the later accounts. After 1719 their names disappear, and in 1720 it is William Shutt who does the masonry of the outworks, the bill



28.—A GROUND-FLOOR GALLERY, LOOKING EAST.



29.—A GROUND-FLOOR GALLERY, LOOKING WEST.

for which Carlisle “examines and Allows” in 1721. It would, therefore, seem that it was before that date that an agreement was drawn up and signed by Carlisle on the one part and Ellsworth and Smith on the other—William Etty being witness—of which a surviving copy gives the month as December, but mentions no year. By this agreement:

It is Covenanted and agreed upon by and Between all the Said Parties to these presents, for themselves their Respective Heires, Executors, Administra^{rs}, and Assignes in Manner and form following that is to say, John Elsworth and Mangor Smith, shall execute and perform in good Substantiall and Workmanlike Manner to and With the Said Earle all such Mason Work as Shall be directed them to be done In the West Wing or Chappel Wing being to be Wrought in Rustique ashler after the Same manner of the East wing now Built.

Another reason for supposing that this preliminary to the commencement of the west wing cannot be later than the date suggested is contained within the agreement. Henderskelfe Castle is mentioned as still standing, but the masons have leave to use its stone free of charge, they undertaking to pay for the demolition. It lay, as the present Ordnance map shows (Fig. 60, M), fifty yards south of the house and, therefore, within the area of the parterre gardens that we shall find Vanbrugh treating architecturally in or about 1720. That the castle was used by Lord Carlisle and his guests until the new house was habitable we judge from a letter, written by Vanbrugh from Castle Howard in October, 1713, to Taylour, the official at the Treasury who paid out the moneys for Blenheim.

Harley and Bolingbroke were still ruling England; the Whigs were dispersed—Marlborough on the Continent, and Carlisle much at his Yorkshire seat, where Vanbrugh has joined him and thinks it so delightful—

from the nature of the Place, the Works he has done, and the manner of his Living, that I shall have much ado to leave it, till I am forc'd to come to Towne, to take care of several uncomfortable things which I fear, will long be Allays to the Pleasures I cou'd else have some tast of.

He then traverses the objection—no doubt raised against Castle Howard, as it certainly was against Blenheim—that it was a great, cold and comfortless waste of a house. He, therefore, emphatically states that—

I am much pleased here (amongst other things) to find Lord Carlisle so thoroughly convinced of the Conveniencys of his new house, now he has had a years tryall of it: And I am the more pleas'd with it, because I have now a proof, that

the Dutchess of Marlborough must find the same conveniency in Blenheim, if ever She comes to try it (as I still believe she will in spite of all these black Clouds.) For my Lord Carlisle was pretty much under the same Apprehensions with her, about long Passages, High Rooms, &c. But he finds what I told him to be true. That those Passages would be so far from gathering & drawing wind as he feared, that a Candle would not flare in them. Of this he has lately had the proof, by bitter stormy nights in which not one Candle wanted to be put into a Lanthorn, not even in the Hall, which is as high (tho not indeed so big) as that at Blenheim. He likewise finds, that all his Rooms, with moderate fires Are Ovens, And that this Great House, do's not require above One pound of wax, and two of Tallow Candles a Night to light it, more than his house at London did Nor in Short, is he at any expence more, whatsoever than he was in the Remnant of an Old house, but three housemaids and one Man, to keep the whole house and Offices in perfect cleanliness, which is done to such a degree, *that the Kitchen*, and all the Offices and Passages under the Principall floor are as dry as the Drawing room: And yet there is a great deal of Company. and *very good housekeeping* So that upon the whole (except the keeping of the New Gardens) the expence of living in this Great fine house do's not amount to above a hundred pounds a year, more than what was Spent in the *Old one*. If you think the knowledge of this, may be of any Satisfaction to my Lady Marlborough, pray tell her what you hear.

By the "Old one," he must mean Henderskelfe Castle, and appears to refer to recent housekeeping there.

We have seen Hawksmoor as early as 1706 suggesting details and measurements for the decoration of the "app^t of State," and suggesting the sizes of tapestries. How many sets of the latter were obtained from Vanderbank and elsewhere we do not know. A set of "Indian" tapestry, such as Soho made much of, hangs on the walls of the nineteenth-century west wing stairway leading to the chapel. Besides that there is now only one important room at Castle Howard that is tapestry hung. It is the central of the three rooms that lie west of the garden hall. It fails to fulfil Hawksmoor's requirement, that the shadow should always fall away from the window or source of light, for the piece hanging on the east wall (Fig. 42) has the shadows falling towards and not away from it. But it shows signs of having been adapted to, and not made for, the room, and will not be one that it was proposed that Vanderbank should weave. It is what we should expect from the Brussels looms, and represents Dutch scenes, agricultural and



30.—THE UPSTAIRS GALLERY, LOOKING WEST.



31.—THE EAST STAIRCASE.

commercial. Here the housewife milks her cows amid sheep and geese, and there, on a quay, in front of a walled town, men are landing fish and preparing to ship barrels. The narrow strips on either side of the chimneypiece (Fig. 40) show us winter occupations. To the left, in front of the Lion Inn, men and women are getting water through a hole in the ice, and, to the right, amid a snowy scene with bridge and windmill, men skate or sledge with wild duck flying over their heads. The colour is just right for a light and sunny room. Cool greys are the dominant note, but are relieved with every other colour, used reservedly and in subdued tones. We find in the room magnificently carved woodwork, such as we have seen Nadauld and Carpenter accounting for in their bills. Between the enriched architrave and the modillioned cornice runs a frieze where lions march along through thickets of scrolled foliage. The upper part of the chimneypiece (Fig. 41), surmounted by swags held up by eagles, is of the school that followed Grinling Gibbons. But the chimneypiece itself—of Carrara marble with Sienna columns—has the broken pediment and other features belonging to George II's time rather than that of 1710, when we saw that the decoration of the Main Pile was in hand, and when Hawksmoor still clung to the simple bolection-moulded fire-arch of William III's time, such as we have found in one of the bedrooms. He probably used the same in the State Apartment, for the chimneypieces



32.—THE GARDEN HALL.

there now are not only somewhat later in style, but do not exactly fit the woodwork about them. The description of the tapestry room also applies to the rooms near it, except that the walls are not now hung with tapestries, although the papered portions give the impression of having been arranged for them. In the first room, known as the drawing-room (Fig. 43), we find doorways like those of the garden hall, with similarly framed pictures above. The entablature is of the same character as that of the tapestry room, and the chimneypiece, though simpler, is of the same style and material. Over it hangs a large canvas of the fifth earl as a young man. To the left of him is his wife, and beyond that another presentment of him as a boy. These portraits, as well as two others in the room—the one representing the earl with his friend and correspondent George Selwyn (Fig. 48), and the other Omiah, the South Sea Islander who was made much of when Captain Cook brought him to England in 1775—are by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The fifth earl, and his father before him, did much towards the completing and furnishing of the house. Both of them, during their Italian tours, were free purchasers of statuary and pictures, although the fifth earl's most important acquisitions came later. Thus, in the next room, known as the Music Room (Fig. 44), the walls are hung with notable examples of the brush of Caracci and Tintoretto, such as the latter's "Temptation," where the Kingdoms of the Earth are represented by such delicious landscapes and towns as to be indeed enticing. Except for the wall spaces, now hung with pictures, but, no doubt, originally intended for tapestry, the walls from floor to ceiling on all four sides of the room exhibit exceptionally fine woodwork of the 1710 period. The entablature is particularly rich, the frieze being divided up into panels by pairs of consoles that support the far-projecting cornice. Great swags of fruit, flower and corn stretch down below whorled cartouches containing female busts on each side of the great panel above the



33.—IN THE GARDEN HALL.



34.—A CHAMBER IN THE GRAND PILE.

chimneypiece (Fig. 45), which, no doubt, was always intended to hold a picture, and now contains that of Catharine de' Medici and her sons, by Clouet, obtained, with various other notable works of art, by the fifth earl from the Orleans collection.

Passing through the third, or tapestry, room, we reach the west wing which Vanbrugh had been anxious to see built, but which was not begun until 1753, and then on a very different plan. The earliest allusion to this wing that we find in Vanbrugh's surviving correspondence is in a letter which he wrote to the third earl in November, 1724. Carlisle's many acres, no doubt,



35.—THE HIGH SALOON.



36.—IN THE HIGH SALOON.



37.—THE HALL SEEN THROUGH THE HIGH-SALOON DOOR.

gave him a large income, but he had no great amount of floating wealth such as would enable him rapidly to complete the large and multitudinous works that were included in the Castle Howard scheme. Thus it was that the finding of the £78,000, which we saw that he had spent on it when he left it quite incomplete at his death in 1748, had taken ever since 1701 to collect and expend. Only one or two jobs could be undertaken at a time, and in 1724 various "outworks" were impending or in hand. Interested as Vanbrugh was in them, and in the gateway which, as we saw in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plate, he had designed as the entrance to the forecourt, yet he admits that :

I think the Wing of so much more weight to the credit of the House, both in regard to the outside and the in, that, as far as my wishes or Opinion may go in the determination, I give them clearly for the Wing. Nay; tho' the consequence shou'd be such as to occasion the finishing the wall in the front of the Court, where the Gate is designed, in such a manner as may leave it doubtful wheth' a gate need hereafter be made or no. And such a Design I have to offer.

In the following month he returns to the charge, but has become very doubtful whether the fall of the ground on the north side of the house admits of the central entrance to the forecourt that he had drawn in the design.

As to Finishing the Front of the Court without a Gateway (at least for the



38.—THE CANALETTO ROOM.



39.—THE LITTLE GALLERY.



40.—THE CHIMNEYPiece IN THE TAPESTRY ROOM.

present, and leaving it to future consideration whether to have any or not) I don't think it would be necessary (not indeed proper) to have any opening there, as if an access to the house in the middle were not to be dispenc'd with. For considering the approach is steep, and the House mounted high upon so elevated a Basement, as such a Wall of 15ft. forms, it may not probably seem to people, when down in the low ground, as if it were practicable, without great difficulty, to make the approach right forward, and therefore might be reasonably dispenc'd with, and properly supply'd by two circular sort of Causways, which on each side shou'd lead by an easy ascent to the Gateways already built. My Lord Cobham is mightily for this expedient, and tells me he has seen the very thing done to a great Palace in Germany, and had, he thought, an admirable good effect. The plain Wall in the Front looking with a boldr air of Defence than if there had been a Gate through it. If your L^dship shou'd approve of this way there should be nothing more to do, than to join the Walls from each side, in a strait line without any sort of distinction or regard to the middle.

Foundations found during drainage processes show that some scheme of forecourt enclosure

was initiated, if not completed. But whether this provided for a central or for side entrances cannot be decided. As regards the west wing, Vanbrugh evidently considers, in 1724, that there is nothing in the way and no further instructions needed "to guide Mr. Etty in preparing things for the foundation and Basement of the Wing if y^r L^dship determines to go on with it in the Spring." He feels so sure that the wing will be begun that he recommends the use of "those loose stones that ly about the Old House," which should be cleared off and used for the foundations, thereby "removing that disagreeable Confusion and litter, that is a mighty drawback, upon the Beauty of the Court." We have seen that in their agreement for building the wing the masons were to be allowed the material of the old house, and it would appear that in 1724 it had been pulled down, but that part of the material was still lying about.

Up to the very last Vanbrugh urged the building of the wing, and, in the letter which he wrote a week before his death, in 1726, he expresses a hope that the outworks, then in hand, "will get out of the way to another Work of (I believe) quite as much Consequence to the Value of the whole." Neither Hawksmoor nor Carlisle, however, seems to have attached as much importance to the wing as to the outworks, and so we shall find that the temple and the mausoleum occupied their attention till their respective deaths in 1736 and 1738. Even the fourth earl was near the end of his days before he was ready to take in hand the wing to be erected from the new design for which his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Robinson, was responsible. As Lord



41.—THE TAPESTRY ROOM, LOOKING WEST.



42.—THE TAPESTRY ROOM, LOOKING EAST.



43.—THE DRAWING-ROOM.



44.—THE NORTH AND WEST SIDES OF THE MUSIC ROOM.

Morpeth, the fourth earl is often mentioned in the architects' letters to his father. Vanbrugh quotes Morpeth's views to support his own, both as to the forecourt entrance and as to the temple. Later on, when Hawksmoor and Carlisle were both becoming infirm and unable to see each other, it is Morpeth who talks over mausoleum details with Hawksmoor at Greenwich, and after he succeeded, in 1738, his was the task to bring that building to completion. He, like his father, was naturally drawn to politics, but, unlike the father, the son's ministerial career was exceedingly brief. He was chosen as Privy Seal when, in 1745, George II attempted to exchange the Pelhams—whose anti-Hanoverian views irked him—for the more sympathetic Lord Grenville. That Ministry, however, began and ended within thirty hours.

The fourth Earl of Carlisle died in 1758, and some half a dozen years before that the Castle Howard accounts show that he had begun the west wing. The building, at the time of his death, was in such a condition that walls and roofs needed completion by the trustees of his young son, who was then only ten years old. William Etty had died a year before Hawksmoor, and, long before that, Sir Thomas Robinson had become the third earl's newsletter writer and architectural adviser. Born about 1700, he was sent by his father, the wealthy owner of



45.—THE MUSIC ROOM CHIMNEYPIECE.

Rokeby in Yorkshire, to the then usual finishing school of Italy, where he studied both the ancient and the Renaissance schools of architecture. He cannot have limited his travels to Italy, as we hear of his having been "over Europe." Returning about the time he came of age, he found himself the possessor of Rokeby and the fortune of his father, who had meanwhile died. He appears soon to have become familiar with Lord Carlisle, who got him returned to Parliament for his borough of Morpeth in 1727, and the next year accepted him as a son-in-law, for he then married the earl's eldest daughter, the widow of Lord Lechmere. Meanwhile he was busy



46.—IN THE WEST WING GALLERY.



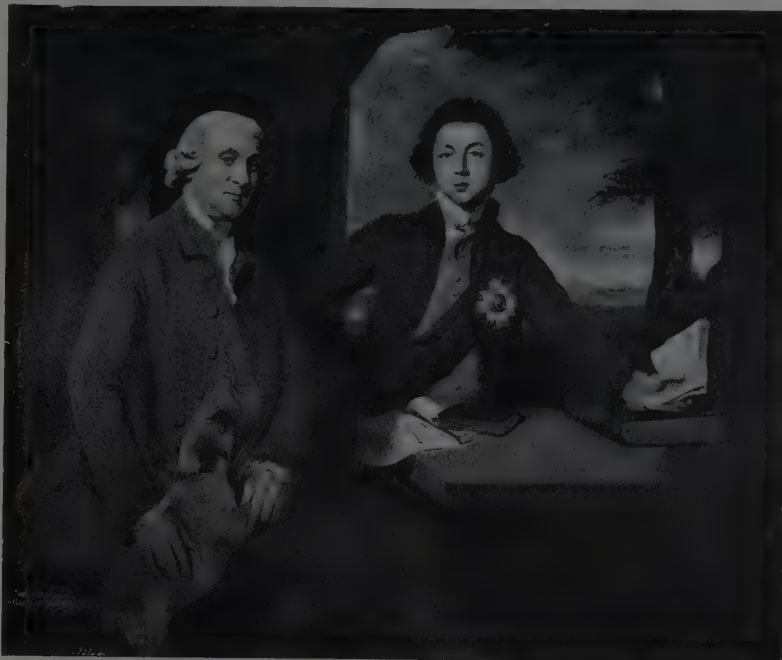
47.—THE SOUTH SECTION OF THE WEST WING GALLERY.

with Rokeby, but does not seem to have felt quite on his feet in the matter of architecture, and so obtained professional assistance for the general design of his proposed new house. In the third volume of the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*" we find a plate dated 1724 and entitled "*Rookby Park in the county of York, the seat of Thomas Robinson Esq, designed by William Wakefield Esq,*" the not unimportant, if elusive, personality in the architectural world of that day, of whom more will be found in the chapters on Duncombe and Gilling. Both those houses have the Vanbrugh touch quite strongly, and it is a fair presumption that, in respect to these houses, Wakefield stood towards Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor in the same relation as did Etty at Castle Howard. That would bring him across Thomas Robinson, who, quite intending to keep the lead in his own building and quite prepared to criticise Vanbrugh's doings at Castle Howard, would certainly not ask the latter to design for him. Even Wakefield appears to have had no further hand in the making of Rokeby beyond supplying this first draft, which Robinson must have discarded in favour of one of his own, for Rokeby, as he built it, has very little resemblance to Rokeby as Wakefield drew it.

Thomas Robinson, who was made a baronet in 1731, was a very expensive man. Not only did his taste for architecture "dominate the rest of his life" and lead to a large outlay at Rokeby, but he was a lavish entertainer in London. Having exhausted his resources by 1742 (his wife, Lady Elizabeth, had died three years before), he obtained the Governorship of Barbados and succeeded in replenishing his coffers by marriage with a rich Colonial widow. When he returned to England in 1747 he appears to have left her behind, but to have brought some of her fortune with him, for we find him "again giving balls and breakfasts." But he also made some money on his own account by becoming part-proprietor and entertainment director of Ranelagh Gardens, to which all the fashionable world flocked. It will have been soon after his return to England that his brother-in-law engaged him to design the proposed new wing: the first reference to the building of which that we have found being a bill sent in for work done on it commencing in 1753. We have seen that from 1701 to 1719 the chief builders employed at Castle Howard had been Ellsworth and the Smiths. In 1720 William Shutt appears, and three years later disappears from the accounts. For the mausoleum Robson and Hodgson were employed, but even before the third earl's death we find a William Robinson busy with other "outworks." He it is who, with a partner, was employed by the fourth earl, so that we have:

A Bill of Mason and Bricklayer's Work done by W^m Robinson and W^m Ellis for the R^t Honourable the Earl of Carlisle at the New Wing at Castle Howard in the years 1753. 1754. and parts of 1755. Measured from the Foundations of the Cellars up to the top of the third course of Rusticks above the Plinth of the Basement of the West and North fronts and to the top of the third course of Ashlar in the Basement of the East Front on the outside, and to Five feet and Four inches high (in the inside) above the ground floor which Dimensions was taken in the beginning of the year 1756.

Besides the loose roll of bills that includes the above, there also survives



48.—THE FIFTH EARL AND GEORGE SELWYN.



49.—THE EARL IN PHOENIX PARK



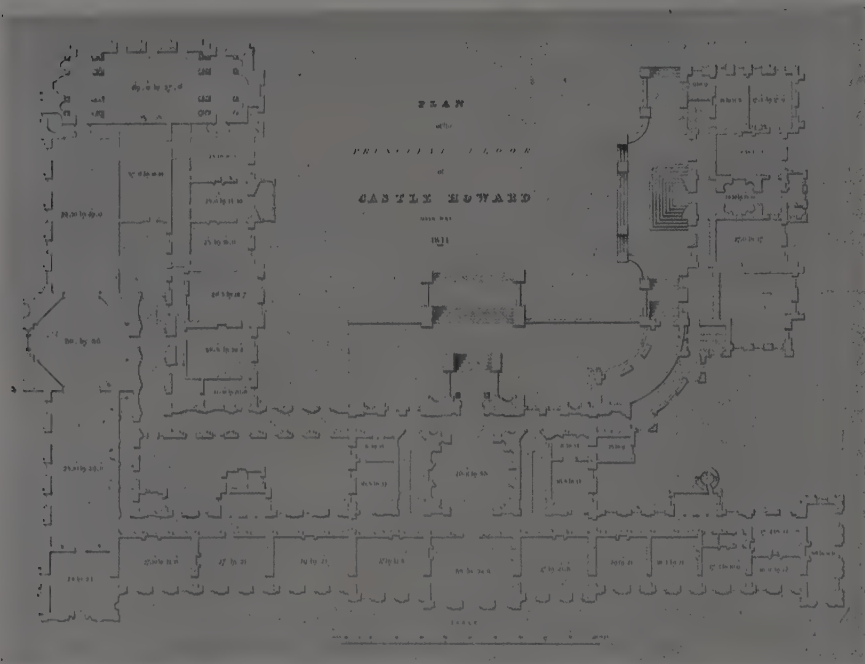
50.—THE EARL AND HIS SON IN THE GALLERY, c. 1801.

a complete vellum-bound book of accounts from October, 1753, to September, 1759, with a blank from June, 1756, to January, 1758. The 1758 accounts include (in a total of £3,955 14s. 4½d.) the following payments :

Robinson and Ellis.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	702.	19.	6½.
Thompson.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	172.	1.	5.
Plumbers.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	677.	13.	8½.
Draughthire.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	332.	5.	9.
Carpenters.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	172.	6.	8½.

“ Draughthire ” means such haulage as the estate did not itself undertake, and the chief haulier employed may have been the son of William Etty, whom Hawksmoor recommended to Carlisle to continue his father’s work, and who, although not chosen for this, seems to have remained in the neighbourhood and taken up another line of business. Thus, we find that in 1759 it is Robert Etty and his partner who “ lead ” materials for “ the New Wing at Castle Howard,” bring wood and coal to the lime kilns, stone from the Hildenley quarry and “ deals from Malton.”

The chief source, however, of deals and other foreign timber will have been the ports of Scarborough and of Hull, and from the latter, soon after the fourth earl’s death, the following letter was sent to John Cleaver, who had succeeded Elstobb as agent and acted for the trustees.



51.—THE PLAN AS IN 1841.

Hull. Ye 5th Jan. 1759.
Mr. Cleaver.
S^r

I suppose the great Change in Lord Carlile family has prevented a more frequent Correspondence betwixt us & was sincerely sorry for the loss of the late Lord. Tho’ little has been done in the way of business the Last year as we are enter’d upon another I thought it would be agreeable to you to have the State of the Acct sent, tho’ it only consists of two articles Vizt. 1758 Ye 29th. Jan

3rd. Mar.	To 68 Wainscott boards	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£13.	9.	6.		
	To 40 Boards & 20 halfe boards	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8.	6.	6.		
										£21.		16.	0.

Tho this is the chiefe errand of this letter it would scarce be excuseable did I not make an offer of my further service, & deserve the continuance of your friendship & favour. You may be asured upon any occasion that I can be serviceable to you or your friends I shall take a pleasure in executing your orders to the best of my power & as I think. None has a better ability, none shall do it with more Integrity & honour. I am with all respect and wifh you the compliment of the season

& am
Y^r Very Hu. Servt.

Andrew Perrott.

Of the various craftsmen employed on the new wing we find Robert Martin burning lime, while Thompson’s accounts are for “ Smith worke Done for the Righte Honble the Earle of Carlisle at the New Weinge at Castle Howard.” Lead came from the “ Stanhope Lead mines,” and stone from the Hildenly quarry is got by Robinson and Ellis, the latter being described as a joiner. Percival Lunock acts as clerk of the works at a wage of £50 a year plus his board, and in his petty cash account for 1759 we find such items as :

To a letter to S ^r Tho ^s Robinson sent to Whitwall	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.	0.	1.
To portorage for a Box of Drawings at York	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.	0.	3.

Ten years later Sir Thomas contrasts the businesslike way in which the Castle Howard work was conducted with what was happening at Claydon, which he was enlarging for Lord Verney and where he was quarrelling with Lightfoot, a builder, “ who thinks he can design without help.” Robinson writes to Verney that the work at Castle Howard “ went on without

a single blunder & with the greatest success, and there being no Middle Man sav'd a Great Deal of Money." While the fourth Earl of Carlisle was alive he had settled with him exactly how much should be done each year; and, when, after the earl died in 1758, trustees undertook to continue the work, they would insist on thrifty management and only do what was necessary to prevent the waste of the half-erected building, and, having finished the roofing, will have left it a shell to be completed as and when the young heir desired after he came of age.

He was ten years old when his father died. At Eton Charles James Fox was his special friend, and when, after a couple of years at King's College, Cambridge, he went abroad, it was Charles James Fox who accompanied him. Back in England in 1769, we find the friendship with Fox continuing, but at this period of his life he was that many-sided man's companion at the gambling table rather than his political associate. Having lost much himself, and becoming surety for Fox's debts, he soon found himself obliged to retrench, and for that purpose retired to Castle Howard. A reference to the plan as it was in 1841, and practically is still (Fig. 51), very clearly shows the point where Vanbrugh's work ends at the north-west corner of the main block. Robinson continued a corridor on a somewhat different scheme from Vanbrugh's, for, after a longer straight course, it turns at right angles down the centre of the new wing, which, instead of being about fifty feet wide, like Vanbrugh's, consists of a central corridor with rooms on each side, taking up a space of about ninety feet. The western range is about twenty-four feet wide and stretches out beyond Vanbrugh's south front, the small pavilion end of which, if ever completed, no doubt resembled that at the east end, but was destroyed to admit of the new building. There was a square room at the south end, and then a run of 175ft. was taken up by a tripartite gallery, the central section widening out and forming an octagon under a dome (Figs. 46 and 47). The side of the wing



52.—THE CHAPEL, LOOKING EAST.



53.—THE UNDERCROFT HALL OF THE WEST WING.



54.—THE NORTH AND EAST SIDES OF THE WEST, OR SIR THOMAS ROBINSON, WING.



55.—THE WEST WING, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



56.—THE WEST WING, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

looking on to the court provides half a dozen chambers on this floor, and the whole height of the north end was occupied by what Robinson is said to have designed as a great dining-room, but which the fifth earl and his successors have ever used as a chapel, the full length of which, into the end apses, being about eighty feet. This scheme not only required a wing of different form and much greater size than Vanbrugh had intended, but it also rendered impossible the great stable court that Vanbrugh had planned to match his office court and buildings to the east. The ground level to the west of the new wing admitted of a garden, level with the undercroft of the wing, and reached from it through a stone hall under the dome, the segmental sides of which were supported below by

clusters of four Ionic columns (Fig. 53). It is curious that, in this space dating from the last years of George II's reign, we should find a fireplace of the bolection-moulded type. Presumably, it was moved here from one of the 1710 rooms when—as we have just seen—chimneypieces little earlier in style than Robinson's wing were introduced.

If we are to believe John, fifth Duke of Rutland, who, as a youth, visited Castle Howard in 1796 and three years later married the Earl of Carlisle's daughter, Thomas Robinson had meant not to complete Vanbrugh's work, but to have replaced much of it by his own.

Many circumstances combine to induce a belief that the erection of this wing, was merely the commencement of a plan of a very extensive nature; and that, in place of the opposite or eastern wing, which is now dedicated exclusively to the habitation of Lord and Lady Carlisle, and one or two of the youngest branches of their family, a wing was intended which should correspond with that of Sir Thomas Robinson.

The death of the fourth earl soon after the west wing was begun and the straitened means of the fifth earl in his earlier years will have prevented this destruction. The wing, as the fifth earl left it, made no pretence to fall in with Vanbrugh's original scheme. Its east side facing the courtyard had not steps up to a raised terrace and an entrance on the main floor, but had a door into the undercroft. Half a century ago this was remedied, and as much balance as possible was given to the group by reproducing for the west wing (Fig. 54) the scheme of steps that Vanbrugh had devised for the east wing (Fig. 6). Interior alteration was also affected at the same time, such as the great flight of stairs that gives dignified access from the gallery to the chapel, which was entirely refitted and redecorated (Fig. 52). Castle Howard, at that time, was owned by the eighth earl, an aged unmarried parson, but the house was occupied by his brother Edward, an admiral, who, when he was placed on the retired list in 1874, was created Lord



57.—THE EXTERIOR OF THE 1782 STABLE COURT.

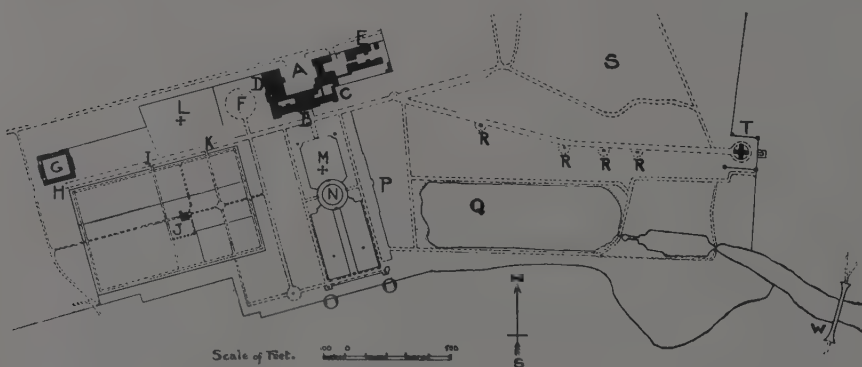


58.—THE INTERIOR OF THE STABLE COURT.



59.—CASTLE HOWARD, FROM THE AIR.

had in mind the needs of the unfinished west-wing gallery when he was still a minor and in Italy. Thus, we find him writing to George Selwyn from Florence in the spring of 1768 that at Bologna he has seen the "finest pictures in the world" and "at Parma I saw some prodigious fine ones. I could have furnished my new wing at these two places very well." His son-in-law, the Duke of Rutland, tells us that at the sale at the Conaro Palace he bought, for one guinea, a picture of a fierce mastiff which Sir Joshua Reynolds assigned to the brush of "the great Titian himself." A quarter of a century later he bought pictures still more freely, and considered that great canvases on the walls provided sufficient decoration for his gallery. Even such ornament as we find there—for instance, the plasterwork of the dome—he did not carry out until after 1801, which accounts for its Regency character. It will have been recently furnished when Jackson depicted him in it with his younger son, afterwards Dean of Lichfield (Fig. 50). Long before he gave such final touches to the wing he had turned his attention to the provision of adequate stables. In the absence of those that Vanbrugh had proposed beyond the west wing, it would appear that buildings connected with the old castle and village were used by the third and fourth earls to accommodate the great number of horses essential at a place like Castle Howard for both traction and for riding. But the fifth earl, soon after he came of age, applied to William Chambers, who had recently designed stables for the great Yorkshire country seat, Harewood, which a rich West Indian merchant, Sir Edwin Lascelles, was creating, but where the house was put into the hands of Carr of York,



60.—THE LAY-OUT FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY.

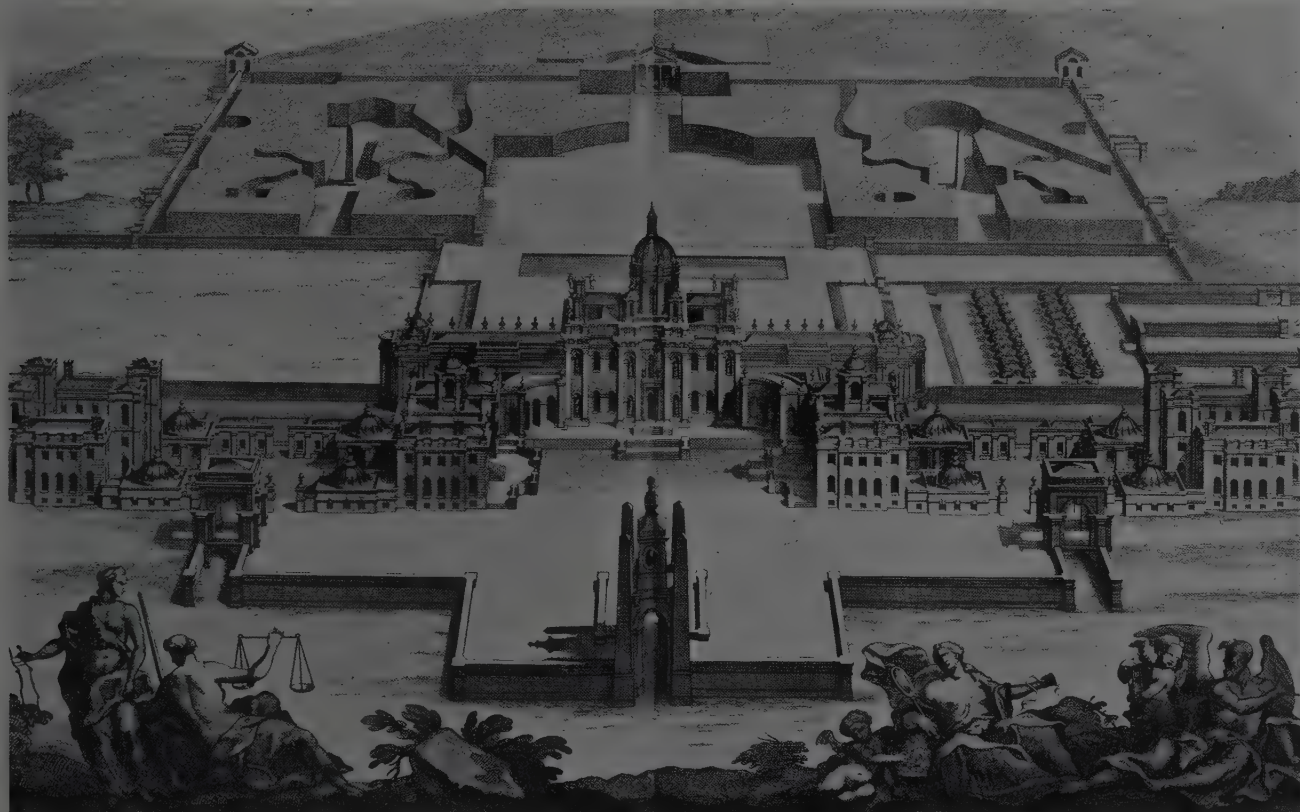
A, entrance court; B, main pile; C, east wing; D, Robinson's west wing; E, office building; F, west garden, where Vanbrugh designed stables; G, Carr's stables; H, iron clairvoyée (Fig. 62); I, central gateway to walled garden (Fig. 64); J, gardener's house; K, Satyr Gate (Fig. 66); L, site of church; M, site of Henderskelfe Castle; N, nineteenth-century fountain; O, O, Hawksmoor's pedestals (Fig. 71); P, wall and bastions looking over Q, pond made c. 1723; R, R, R, R, statues on the way to the temple (Fig. 68); S, Wray Wood; T, Vanbrugh's temple (Fig. 74); W, Vanbrugh's bridge (Fig. 75).

Lamerton. The date of his peerage very much coincides with the years when he was making the alterations at Castle Howard. He died childless in 1880, but the old bachelor earl survived him nine years, and was then succeeded by the son of a still younger brother. George Howard, the ninth earl, is remembered as an artist and a friend of Maurice and of Burne Jones. It is his younger son, the Honourable Geoffrey Howard, who is the present possessor of the Yorkshire estate.

The fifth earl evidently had in mind the needs of the unfinished west-wing gallery when he was still a minor and in Italy. Thus, we find him writing to George Selwyn from Florence in the spring of 1768 that at Bologna he has seen the "finest pictures in the world" and "at Parma I saw some prodigious fine ones. I could have furnished my new wing at these two places very well." His son-in-law, the Duke of Rutland, tells us that at the sale at the Conaro Palace he bought, for one guinea, a picture of a fierce mastiff which Sir Joshua Reynolds assigned to the brush of "the great Titian himself." A quarter of a century later he bought pictures still more freely, and considered that great canvases on the walls provided sufficient decoration for his gallery. Even such ornament as we find there—for instance, the plasterwork of the dome—he did not carry out until after 1801, which accounts for its Regency character. It will have been recently furnished when Jackson depicted him in it with his younger son, afterwards Dean of Lichfield (Fig. 50). Long before he gave such final touches to the wing he had turned his attention to the provision of adequate stables. In the absence of those that Vanbrugh had proposed beyond the west wing, it would appear that buildings connected with the old castle and village were used by the third and fourth earls to accommodate the great number of horses essential at a place like Castle Howard for both traction and for riding. But the fifth earl, soon after he came of age, applied to William Chambers, who had recently designed stables for the great Yorkshire country seat, Harewood, which a rich West Indian merchant, Sir Edwin Lascelles, was creating, but where the house was put into the hands of Carr of York, to whom Lord Carlisle next applied for a more economical stable scheme. That we know from one of Carlisle's letters to George Selwyn, written in 1771, in which he says, "I have made Mr Car of York give me a plan for stables of a very different kind from that of Mr Chambers in point of expense." This was the scheme which, no doubt, was carried out some years later, the position being just beyond the north-west corner of the gardens (Fig. 60, G). The stables, though more modest in scale and character than others in

Yorkshire of the time—such, for instance, as Carr erected at Wentworth Woodhouse—are very agreeably designed. They consist of four blocks—north, south, east and west—connected by lower corner buildings. The chief elevation is that to the north (Fig. 57), which lies open to the main approach to the house and, therefore, has presence given to it by a centre with engaged columns through which an archway leads into the yard (Fig. 58).

When Carr made his design in 1771 Carlisle's resources may still have been feeling the strain of his gambling and other expenses. In 1777, however, he gave up play for politics, was appointed Treasurer of the Household, went as head of the Commission that attempted to settle the difficulties with the North American colonies in 1778, and two years later went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. A great canvas (Fig. 49) by Wheatley represents him as such on a white horse in the Phoenix Park, surrounded by his family and members of his viceregal household. He came home in 1782, being opposed to William Pitt until after the outbreak of the French Revolution. He remained out of office, and had time and money for work at Castle Howard. Thus, in 1784, we get the account of Robert and Ralph Campleman, amounting to over £3,000,



61.—BIRD'S-EYE VIEW, FROM THE "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS."

for "all the Masonry of the New Stables, sheds against the garden walls, getting all the stone at the quarry & other Masonry executed at Castle Howard."

Carr's stables, standing, as they do, in the park, but at the corner of the grounds, rank as the latest item of the vast scheme of outworks designed and carried out by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor which we will now consider.

We have seen how, some months before his death in 1738, the third Earl of Carlisle wrote, with shaky hand, this last item in his third account book: "Total disbursed in my Buildings gardens plantations & out works to Mids 1737. £78,240. 2. 10d." How much of this sum was expended on the house and how much on gardens and outworks has not been analysed, but that the latter must be accountable for a very considerable proportion of the whole is the conclusion arrived at when the extent and elaboration of the general lay-out is reviewed.

Carlisle and Vanbrugh seem to have been in full agreement that the old English fashion of grouping the lord of the manor's house with the church of the parish and the houses of the villagers was out of the picture for a palace in the Italian fashion. Thus, not only Henderskelfe Castle, but also every vestige of neighbouring edifices, lay and clerical, was gradually swept away, and in their place arose, not merely a new habitation, but a complete and comprehensive scheme wherein



62.—THE CLAIRVOYEE.

It leads from the park to the south front of the house: the walled garden to the right, and a corner of the stable to the left.



63.—THE GREAT GATEWAY FROM THE PARK.

life could be conducted in the grand manner. The scheme uses several square miles; for, when you reach the first of Vanbrugh's massive arched gateways you are still very far from the house, and shortly you have important architectural incidents to observe on your way, all helping to prepare the mind for the great things to come.

Entering and passing through the house, the idea of immensity that has already impressed you on the north side is increased by what lies before you on the south. To the right of you (Fig. 10) a long walk of great width rises up the western slope. On reaching the level it has, to the left of it, the long line of the kitchen garden walls (Fig. 62), broken with various incidents; to the right a plantation of tall trees hides out the approach to the house, while, in front of you, you see at a distance the wrought-iron gates and *clairvoyée* that divide the kept ground from the park (Fig. 63). To the

left of you, as you still stand at the garden hall door (Fig. 9), a broad way soon leaves the level to reach the height of Wray Wood, while a curving grass terrace (Fig. 68) of easier gradient skirts the south side of the wood; and at the point where the latter ends (Fig. 77) stands the temple which was occupying Vanbrugh's attention when death came upon him in the spring of 1726. How this and other features, including the original form of the great and varied parterre — which occupies the almost level acres directly south of the house—came to be we will now consider.

As we find garden work going on in 1703, it is probable that, not long after Vanbrugh produced the plan and elevation given in the first volume of the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," he designed the scene shown in the bird's-eye design that appears in the third volume of that work (Fig. 61). The scheme was, very likely, altered and amended in the carrying out, but the main lines were preserved, and remain to this day as seen in a sketch plan of the immediate environment of the house (Fig. 60) founded on the latest Ordnance Survey. To the left of

Fig. 14 we see a terrace rising from the parterre, while a second set of steps leads to the level of the double avenue which we still have. It is beyond that, and on still somewhat higher ground, that the enclosed garden, with its many walled divisions, occupies some acres of table land. The first reference to be found concerning it in the accounts is in December, 1703, when William Smith and his partners send in a note of "*Mason Worke Don Att^y Garding House.*" What this garden house was it is difficult to say, as it does not seem to be the same as that which the head gardener now occupies (J), but their work at the garden in 1705 can easily be identified, for in the return of "*Admeasurements*" which they send in in the November of that year, we find the item "*Satyr Gate (in the Garden) £12. 11. 4. Six Rustick Peers, £54. 12. 0. Angular Peer (with its pyramidall top) £6. 19. 8.*" Moreover, the bill of carving



64.—THE MIDDLE GATEWAY, LOOKING INTO THE WALLED GARDEN.



65.—THE MIDDLE GATEWAY, LOOKING OUT OF THE WALLED GARDEN.

work done in that year by Sam Carpenter, and examined by Hawksmoor and Etty, includes the following :

Satyr Gate in Y^e Gardens.
 2 baskets, 2 satyr heads, 2 lion heads,
 £12. 30/- 30/- each.
 In One Peer in Y^e Garding.
 Pine apples 2 @ 110^d.
 The Dragon. 1 @ 9^d.

The rustic piers are used at various points of the garden wall. Those of the *clairvoyée* are pyramidal, topped with pincapples (Fig. 62). Others are seen breaking the long line of the north wall, the first breach in which is formed by the piers of the gateway (1) opening down the central alley



66.—THE SATYR GATEWAY LOOKING INTO THE WALLED GARDEN.

of the garden, through which (Fig. 64) other piers of the same kind are seen at the other divisions. It is farther still down the wall and, therefore, nearer the house that we find the Satyr Gate (κ), a curiously Vanbrughian composition of small size, but of Cyclopian massiveness (Fig. 66). The huge keystone, rising to the very top of the little pediment, is left plain, whereas the side pilasters, increasing in width as they rise, carry not capitals, but the huge grinning masks of the bearded Satyrs carved by Carpenter, his lion heads being on the other side (Fig. 67), while his baskets of flowers stand on the top. The wrought ironwork both of the main gates from the park and for the two entrances to the garden is very delightful and delicate, and, like the balustrading of the stairs and galleries in the house, may have

been the work of some follower of Tijou, such as Bakewell, whose work we find at Melbourne, Oakover, and at other houses in Derbyshire and adjacent counties. But they may, possibly, be by a local smith. At Chatsworth the work of Tijou was continued by John Girdam, who made the fine gates and balustrades on the west terrace steps about 1700, although he was merely the estate smith who alternated delicate craftsmanship with "Shooing y^e Carthorses" and "Cleaning y^e Militia Armes." So at Castle Howard we find the ordinary smith's work performed by the Thompsons. But when a "Court Gate" is being considered and Hawksmoor proposes that "Mr Montigu, the frenchman, or Mr Pattifon, an ingenius Englishman," should be entrusted with it, someone suggests the local man, and Hawksmoor says that "if Kit Tomfson can perform it I am as well satisfied; and woud rather have him doe

it than a Stranger." That, however, was in 1735, and the ironwork of the kitchen garden and park gateways dates from days when such proficiency may not have been reached by Kit Thompson, whose son is, probably, the John whom we have seen doing the "Smith work" at the west wing in 1758.

In 1706 the further building of "2 Great Piers at Y^e South West Angle of Y^e Kitching Garden" seems to have completed that section of the lay-out, but much else was going on. Among the 1705 "Admeasurements" is the item "Bridg in the Park £80. 14. 3d.," no doubt referring to the massive structure (w) that lies across the artificially widened water below the temple. With its heavy rustications and mighty keystones (Fig. 75), it shows the same ultra-baroque spirit as the Satyr Gate—a Cyclopean and somewhat barbarous treatment of classic forms, half grotto-like, in order to associate with the almost wild character of its situation away from the delicately wrought and proportioned main habitation. This difference of treatment had long obtained in Italy, where we find the same contrast—at, say, the Lante and Gamberaja Villas—as between the Castle Howard house and its bridge and Satyr Gate. Vanbrugh, while deprecating rusticity at or near the house, recommends, in other parts, "more retir'd and Solomn," those varieties of it called rockwork and frostwork, such as had been introduced at Chatsworth.

Although the facts of Vanbrugh's travels and of his architectural training and opinions are so little known, yet we have mentioned in the Introduction (page liv), that the environment of his country palaces certainly received as much of his attention as the habitation proper, and that the

new office of "Surveyor of Gardens and Water-works" was created for him. Moreover, a careful review of surviving letters and accounts relative to the Castle Howard lay-out are evidence that he had his own definite views, amounting to originality, as to garden making, just as he had as to house building. He formed those views in the hey-day of the school of formalism, at the time when Versailles was the world wonder as the huge and complete country palace with the greatest and richest environment. But the touch of dramatic romanticism that influenced Vanbrugh's architecture is strongly present in his gardens, as we shall again see in the chapters on Blenheim, Stowe, Claremont and Eastbury. However formal may have been his parterres and walled gardens, there was a freer treatment of the spaces beyond. At Castle Howard we see it



67.—THE SATYR GATEWAY, LOOKING OUT OF THE WALLED GARDEN.

in the treatment of Wray Wood, of the curving grassed way that skirted its south edge, and of the natural outlines of the water spanned by the bridge.

Wray Wood was treated as an ordered wilderness, nature being rendered more "polite" by the introduction of alleys and of architecture. The mason set eighteen pedestals there in 1705, and between 1711 and 1714 John Bagnall plastered its two summer-houses, introducing in the interior square and semicircular panels. Very little remains in Wray Wood, nor do we know what happened to the pedestals that were provided for "y^e Round Strawberry Garden," or those in "y^e Mulberry Garden," as we are not certain of the location of these incidents, which, however, probably occupied sections of the much-divided walled garden. Other pedestals, however, do survive at or near their original situations. There are the four bearing classic statues (R, R) that are set at intervals along the grass way to the temple (T). They are square, the sides enriched with flower garlands, very likely carved by Will. Carpenter (Fig. 72). Others, enriched in the same manner, but of round form, may be those in the masons' 1718 account



68.—THE MOWN WAY FROM THE HOUSE TO THE TEMPLE.

as "ffor y^e 4 Seafons in y^e Garden" (Figs. 69 and 70). They now stand in the great parterre that forms a level square the width of the south front. As remodelled and, probably, extended in the nineteenth century, we see it in an aeroplane view (Fig. 59), and in simple form in the bird's-eye design lying between the house and a great area of massifs cut with curved and segmental walks (Fig. 61). That may never have been carried out, although its features are not unlike what Vanbrugh created for the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont in and after 1715. But, at Castle Howard, a parterre is the subject of the second surviving letter of Vanbrugh to Carlisle, dated twenty years after the one from Tadcaster, already quoted. The second letter bears the date February 28th, 1721, which is 1722 according to our computation. It is evident that much had been done already at the parterre with various levels rising to the west, but falling to the east, where a balustraded wall is shown in the bird's-eye view, breaking out into square and semicircular bastions overlooking the low ground where the rectangular sheet of water was made before Hawksmoor wrote to Carlisle, in March, 1724, "I hope your Lordship by this time sees



69 AND 70.—HERCULES AND THE CYMBAL PLAYER ON ROUND CARVED PLINTHS.



71.—A COMPOSITE PLINTH.
Probably designed by Hawksmoor.



72.—A SQUARE PLINTH.
One of four on the way to the temple.



73.—THE TEMPLE PLATFORM RISING FROM THE PARK.



74.—THE WEST PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE, AND THE MAUSOLEUM IN THE DISTANCE.



75.—THE BRIDGE, SEEN FROM THE TEMPLE.



76.—THE ASCENT TO THE TEMPLE FROM THE PARK.



77.—THE MOWN WAY ENDS AT THE TEMPLE STEPS.

not satisfied, and the matter is hung up for a while. At last he consults Hawksmoor, who writes in March, 1724 :

I dont know what to say to ye 4 obelisks, may be I may bring S^r John upon my back, but if they were mine I would not let them stand upon ye Cold ground but lift em up ye same fort of Pedestall in ye piazza Navona, don by Dominico Fontana.

At the same time he encloses—

3 or 4 different ornaments for ye corners of ye garden (as your Lordp desired me) and to explain my meaning. I am sure they are right but put up a few Boards & judge of the size and bulk. They are to be differently enriched & have vase figure baskett or trophy on them to stand on parapet of garden wall at each Quoine and rife about 16 foot above it.

Although, in Vanbrugh's later letters, we find further allusion to obelisks and pillar, and although Shutt "admeasured" for the pillar in 1722, yet we are left in uncertainty when, if ever, they were set up. There is no trace of them now, but it seems certain that one of Hawksmoor's designs for "ornaments for y^e corners of y^e garden" was carried out, and still survives in the shape of a pair of composite plinths in the same sort of site (o, o), if not on the same spots as when first set up. The position of the one at the south-east corner of the parterre is seen in the illustration of the Cymbal Player (Fig. 70). The massive central plinth uses its upper round section as the base for a statue, while the four lesser flanking plinths have vases on them (Fig. 71). By 1724, however, the parterre was receiving small attention from Vanbrugh, for not only was he, as we have seen, urging the undertaking of the west wing, but was busy designing an architectural feature for the south-east corner of Wray Wood. We find the first mention of this in his letter to Carlisle of April 11th, 1724, when he writes :

I will get the Design for the Belvidere ready if possible to send next Post. I believe four dcors will give both Light and View sufficient, without windows, and then there will be space enough for Chairs; the Table, I think (as I have mention'd formerly) shou'd stand always fix'd in the middle of the Room. I have some doubts about the name of Belvidere, which is generally given to some high Tower; and such a thing will certainly be right to have some time and in some place, tho' I can't say I do at present think of one about the Seat, where the view is better than this. But this Building I fancy wou'd most naturally take the name of Temple which the Situation likewise is very proper for.



80.—FROM TEMPLE TO HOUSE.



81.—ONE OF THE TEMPLE DOORWAYS.

Carlisle, however, seems to have inclined towards a rubble-built "belvidere," rather than to an ashlar temple. He asks for the opinion of Hawksmoor, who, in January, 1725, sends him sketches, or, as he calls them, "scizzas," of the sort of building that he thinks Carlisle has in mind. The sheets on which he drew and described them have survived (Figs. 78 and 79). The one has a dome, and he calls it "the Little Turrett," adding that its ornament is based on "de Vignole." The other is round, on a square base, and he "dare answer for y^e Beauty, Conveniency and Duration of these fabricks." He encloses this sheet in a letter, in which he says :

What I have sent you here enclosed, are more Ideas or Scizzas of ye Turret at ye corner of Wraywood, intended to be built with rough stone, except only a bandage about y^e windows and something better to cope ye Walls withall.

I propose it one Roome (with a cellar and small Waiting Roome under it) as your Lp may see in each of y^e Scizzas or draffts. Either of these woud make a very good study, the small reserve taken out of the wall would be very convenient for Sundry purposes.

I send you this for your amufement, for I know S^r J. Vanbrugh is for a Temple of smooth free stone with a portico each way and Dom'd over ye center, & it woud undoubtedly doe beyond all objection but as y^r Lordship desired a drafft of one, made of y^e common Wall stone I have drawn this accordingly, and this might be changed 100 severall ways, if one had time and health.

What S^r John proposes is very well, and founded upon y^e Rules of y^e Ancients I mean upon strong reason and good fancy, joyn'd with experience and tryalls, so that we are assured of y^e good effect of it, and that's what we mean by following y^e Antients, if we contrive or invent other ways, we doe but drefs things in masquerade which only please the foolish part of mankind for a short time.



82 AND 83.—THE INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE.

To the sort of building sketched by Hawksmoor Vanbrugh objects strongly, and on February 11th he writes, "I still flatter my Self nothing of this plain or Gothick Sort will be determined on at last." He carries the day, and a week later is able to write that he is—

very glad to find your L^dship at last inclined to the Temple with the four Porticos ; I believe I never mentioned one thing in that Design that wou'd be of great Service in regard to the usefull part of the Room. Which is, that since the situation requires it should be open, to look out every way, were there no Porticos, the Sun wou'd Strike in so full, as to make it quite disagreeable whereas, I hope Porticos will keep the sun almost always out of it, and yet leave it quite light of the most pleasing kind. And for the Porticos themselves, nothing can be more agreeable than the Seats under them. As to husbanding the stone, by Rusticks, it might be done ; but tho' I am a very great Lover of Rusticks, I do not think they wou'd by any means do in this case the whole turn of the Design, being of the more delicate kind ; but an other expediant will husband the Stone, better than Rusticks, and that is to flute the Pillars, which does so much disguise the joints, that one may use almost what Stones one will. I think a Table fix'd in the middle of the Room, wou'd brighten Since there can scarce ever be occasion to use one, in any other part of it.

On March 26th, he says, in another letter :

I am very glad your L^dship has determin'd upon the four Porticos. I shall be much disappointed if that Design don't succeed well ; I'll send Mr Etty out of hand, what farther Instructions may be necessary for going on with it.

As to the inside, I think there need not be any Costly finishings. I wou'd make a Surbase of Wainscots, and then Stucco the Walls quite up to the Cornice. The Ceiling will do very well flat, because it will shape the Room just to a

tube. Or if your L^dship likes it better to Show the Inside of the Cap, I have no exceptions to it. Whichever way it is done there must be some compartments in the Plaistering.

After this Etty is busy getting out the working plans, but questions of detail are still under consideration when, on March 8th, 1726, Vanbrugh writes :

If your L^{dp} has a mind to extend the area from a Cube of 20ft. to one of 22, it needs have no regard to the Columns or other parts of the Architecture, which will do as they stand at Present.

A week later Vanbrugh's death made Hawksmoor Carlisle's architect-in-chief, and in the following August he sends "some additions to my thoughts that I sent you last touching the Temple in Wraywood," and suggests that the inside walls should be of "cleaned free stone" in the manner that he had drawn in the section that he enclosed. As to the outside, he tells us that he has made "a small alteration in the cap and that's all I differ from S^r John." Further changes evidently were made as the work progressed. Vanbrugh, as we know by his letters, considered that the very rich door-cases seen through the portico columns would be sufficient ornament for the walls, and that to cut up the plain flanking sections with either niches or windows would be a mistake in taste. But that view did not prevail, and the impression that we now get from Fig. 81



84.—THE ARCHWAY INTO THE DEMESNE, LOOKING IN.



85.—THE ARCHWAY INTO THE DEMESNE, LOOKING OUT.



86.—THE PARK ARCHWAY AND HOSTELRY.



87.—GOTHIC DEFENCES.



88.—A ROUND TOWER.



89.—BASTIONS, SQUARE AND ROUND.

is that, at the time of building, niches were introduced, but that afterwards—no doubt because the interior proved too gloomy—windows were set in below the shell top of the niches. The carving of the stone was entrusted to Dan. Harvey, perhaps a son of the William Harvey who had carved chimney-pieces for the house in 1706. Dan. began his work on “February y^e 3^d, 1727,” and it included the following items :

Antablature in y ^e four Porticos	16	att	3 ^d	p ^r	foot.
.. ..	26.		8.	0.	0.
Capitals 28	att	2 ^l	each.		
.. ..	56.		0.	0.	0.
Frizes over y ^e Doors	44				
foot att 2 ^s -6 ^d	p ^r	foot.			
.. ..	5.		10.	0.	0.
12 ^v vases upon y ^e fower Porticos	att	35 ^{sh}	each.		
.. ..	21.		0.	0.	0.
Shells 8	att	1 ^l	each.		
.. ..	8.		0.	0.	0.

Here he is distinctly a carver in stone, but he may also have been “Mr Harvey the painter,” whom Hawksmoor interviews in January, 1731, when the question of painting the interior of the temple is being discussed, and who begs Hawksmoor to advise Carlisle “to stick to Hannibal Carrats in the manner of painting for you cannot doe better.” There is, however, nothing resembling the Caracci manner in the temple room, where the enrichments (Fig. 82) are mainly of stucco gilt. Above the doorways are long panels (to which allusion is made in one of Hawksmoor’s letters) that have in their centres

round niches decked with busts. Sets of corner pilasters support a heavy entablature, above which rises the dome, which is, again, enriched with stucco. Who the stuccoist was we do not know, but in 1730, Hawksmoor sends "the entablement as big as the Life" to Etty, with instructions that it should be carried out in stucco or in wood according as "you have a good plafterer or a good Joyner and carver." The four doorways, like the corner pilasters, are marbled in black and gold, with white capitals to the engaged columns. In the centre of the geometrically designed paved floor we see the fixed table that Vanbrugh suggested.

The exterior is very successfully designed for its high and detached position. A plateau at the south-east corner of Wray Wood was levelled, formed into a square 120ft. across (Fig. 73), and bounded by a retaining wall, with massively moulded plinths or bastions at the corners. Within the square banks rise to a second platform, on which the building stands. The domed centre is a rectangle of about 30ft. Each portico is 20ft. wide and 12ft. deep, and in front of each one a descent of ten steps takes a length of 15ft. To the east there is a further descent from the square to the lower level of the park (Fig. 76), offering a dignified way across the latter to the knoll on which stands the mausoleum that was being discussed while the temple was building. Standing in the sunlight of the south portico, the prospect is delightful. Westward, the eye is carried along the broad grass way to the distant house, and southward we see the bridge thrown across what has been arranged to have the appearance of a broad meandering stream, over which, to the south-east, rises the mausoleum (Fig. 74). Directly east is a wide outlook on to distant wooded hills, and if we walk round the platform to the north portico, we see the line of the eastward boundary of Wray Wood, dropping to lower ground. We have, indeed, the "temple" building that Vanbrugh so strongly desired, but the position is certainly that of a "belvidere."

The west wing, the parterre and the temple were, by no means, the only "outworks" with which Vanbrugh concerned himself during the second half of his time at Castle Howard. In a letter dated London, May 29th, 1714, which he sent to Lord Marlborough, he tells the great man, who was still abroad owing to the hostility of the Harley-Bolingbroke Ministry:

I send with this a Draught of the Obelisk my Lord Carlisle is raising to express his grateful sense as an Englishman, of what he thinks the Nation owe your Grace, it is in all a hundred Feet high. There is a great deal of the material prepared, and I have writ this night to direct the laying of the foundations, my Lord Carlisle having given me leave to do so.



90.—THE OBELISK.

Thus we find the cost of its erection included in the 1715 account of Ellsworth and the Smiths, although the inscription on it commemorating Lord Carlisle's creation of the place was not put up till a good deal later, for in Dan Harvey's account, that begins in 1726, we find the item, "The inscription in y^e obelisque. £1. 14. od." On the York Road, but long before we reach the park, the entrance to the demesne is marked by an archway (Fig. 85) which, with its corner pyramids and huge keystones, is fully in Vanbrugh's manner, and a very telling example of his treatment of rubble as opposed to ashlar, such as in his "Satyr Gate" and other incidents to the walled garden. Looking through (Fig. 84), we get a glimpse of the building that guards the boundary of the park (Fig. 86). Through its archway (Fig. 92) we see the obelisk (Fig. 90), which is placed at a cross-ways, the turn to the right passing down an avenue in front of Carr's stables and then on to the entrance side of the house. With the park entrance Vanbrugh was certainly concerned, and we find more than one allusion to it in his letters. However inappropriate he considered anything of the "Gothick Sort" would be on the site for which he designed the temple, he favoured it at this distant "outwork," so that the archway is surmounted (Fig. 91)



91.—THE PARK ARCHWAY.



92.—THROUGH THE ARCHWAY TO THE OBELISK.

by an imitative machicolation, such as we find him using at Eastbury, Claremont and at his own "Castle." The Classic buildings that flank it are later than Vanbrugh's time, and were built as a hostelry for visitors who had leave to inspect the house and grounds. It is on each side of this building that Vanbrugh plunged seriously into mock mediævalism. The park wall is set with bastions, curved and angular and with round towers (Figs. 87, 88 and 89). How to terminate these pseudo-archaic structures was rather a puzzle, and Vanbrugh writes to Carlisle in November, 1724 :

I think the Spire that Mr Etty sent will by no means do, A cap is all that those sort of Towers shou'd have, and I have seen one upon a round tower, on the Walls of Chester, that I thought did extremely well. I believe it might rise something higher than that I left the sketch of, but I believe a little help that way, will make it all right. I therefore here inclose a Draught, with the cap planted quite even with the top of the Battlement, which I am pretty confident will do. I have however sent an other with it, which I believe wou'd not be dislik'd by many people, but I think the spiral one will do better, and be more of a piece with the tower it stands upon.

In the following month he again disapproves of Etty's sketch for the roofing :

for it too much approaches the Spire of a Steeple, and yet is so much lower, as to make a very ill spire if it were meant for one. The spires upon Steeples, are not meant for coverings to the towers they stand upon, but as ornaments rais'd upon them, to be seen a great way off. But towers upon Walls are unsuited to them, as part of the Fortification, and are suppos'd to be lodgings or Storehouses, and as such only require a covering which may however be in a degree ornamental, but shou'd not look too light and trifling.

What was decided on to crown the tower-like bastions we do not know, as what there was is gone. The gateway is topped by neither a spire nor a cap, but by a curious pyramid, which certainly strengthens the massive and defensive effect which Vanbrugh evidently wished should impress the visitor as he drove through the deep and resonant archway (Fig. 92). Allusions to this building we also get from the accounts. While William Shutt was employed, between 1720 and 1723, he charged for "Digging y^e foundation att y^e Gateway into y^e Parke," and also for the "Battlements upon the Square Bastions in the Battlement Wall." But fourteen years later



93.—THE ASCENT TO THE MAUSOLEUM.

the work is still incomplete, so that in 1737 we find the next mason, William Robinson, breaking into the park wall "on the moorland side" and inserting bastions there, while in the following year five bastions are being built by him on the "west side of York gateway in the Park" at a cost of £57 19s. 6d. The first bill is agreed and signed by the third earl, but the second lacks his signature, and was, probably, not met until after his death.

His chief interest at Castle Howard during his last years had been the mausoleum where he and many of his descendants lie buried. Although not seriously considered until after Vanbrugh's death, it had, evidently, been talked about some years before that event, for in June, 1722, Vanbrugh, writing to him about the Duke of Marlborough's recent death and the enormous fortune he had left, adds :

I having been referred to my Lord Godolphin with the other executors, Clayton and Guidet, to consider about the Duke's funeral and place of burying, I have taken the liberty to mention to my Lord what your Lordship designs at Castle Howard, and has been practised by the most polite people before priestcraft got poor carcasses into their keeping, to make a little money of.

Sure, if ever any such thing as erecting monuments in open places was right, it would be so in this case. But I fancy the Duchess will prevent his lying near her, though 'twould not make her very melancholy neither.

The place I propose is in Blenheim Park, with some plain but magnificent and durable monument over him.

As regards the Carlisle monument, however, the idea was still in the air when Vanbrugh died in March, 1726. But when, in the following September, Hawksmoor writes to Carlisle about the Vanbrugh temple, which was still incomplete, he also alludes to "the other Building your Lordship mentions, and the use you intend it for," which is to be on the hill "in Yeomans



94.—THE MAUSOLEUM ON ITS PLATFORM.



95.—THE NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE PLATFORM.



96.—THE MAUSOLEUM, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

Close not far from the Lake." He objects to Carlisle's idea of making it yet another temple, and reminds him that the old "polite" people had "their magnificent piles for sepulture but never bury'd near their temples or built their tombs in the form of any Temple dedicated to devine honours." Of their places of sepulture, the most famous Greek example "was that at Hallicarnassus which was called y^e Maufoleum and was so famous that it got the title of one of y^e seaven wonder's of y^e World." But, for the Carlisle mausoleum, the model he proposed to follow was the Roman "monument of Porfenna y^e King of Tufcany."

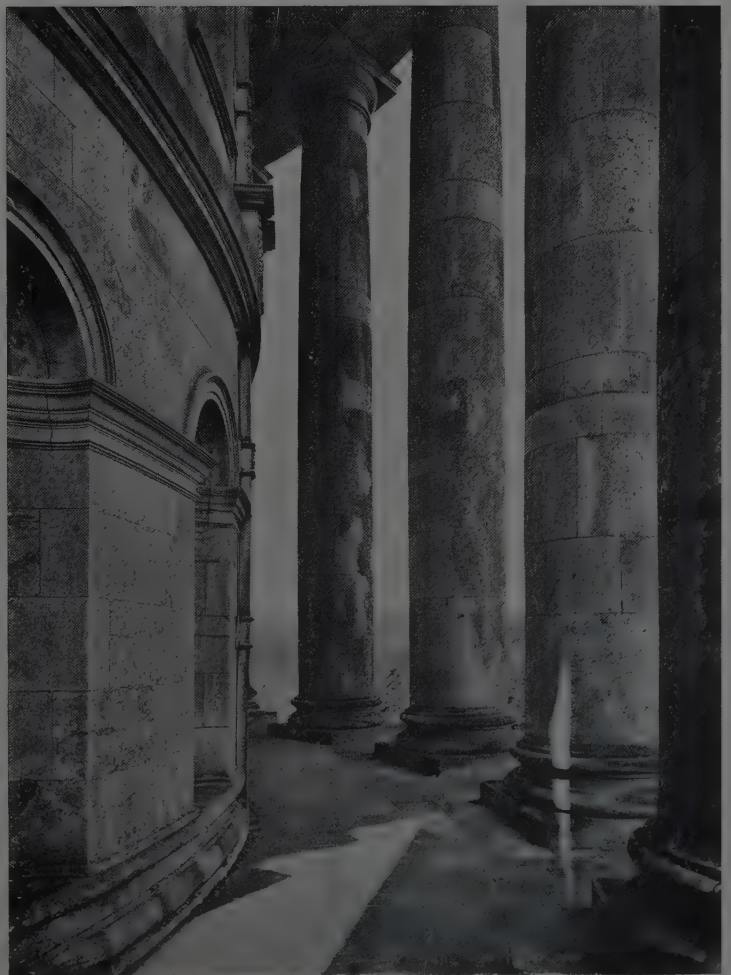
It will be remembered that anything resembling or pertaining to English village life, religious or lay, had been swept away, and so, the Henderskelfe church being gone, Hawksmoor—although to mix worship and burial was not what "polite" people had done—does bring himself to suggest that his new building should be made convenient for both purposes. He proposes to place below the monument a small chapel—

with fix small Roomes under it for y^e accommodation of 6 old women (or 6 old men) if you please, to live in, and a small yearly support by way of an alms house & these aged persons should be y^e Curators of the monument, to clean, swep and lock it up and shew it to strangers with many traditions and accounts concerning it.

Carlisle, however, evidently determined to be "polite," and we find neither chapel nor rooms. Many more letters concerning the mausoleum ensue before the final design is agreed. In November, 1727, Hawksmoor sends down a box with sundry drawings, and insists that "what I have sent you is Authentic and what is According to the practice of y^e Antients." Further "drafts" follow in the next July, founded on "ye Tomb of Metalla a noble person of Rome," which appears to have been the example settled upon in the conversation that Hawksmoor had previously had in London with Carlisle and his son Morpeth. The Cecilia Metella tomb remains the basis of the design, but in 1730 Carlisle suggests that it should be encircled by a colonnade. Hawksmoor highly approves of this idea; although it presents the difficulty that it will necessitate very large stones for the entablature,



97.—THE DOOR OF THE MAUSOLEUM.



98.—A PEEP AT BRIDGE AND HOUSE.



99.—THE DOME.

none of them was more than about a yard high. But the entablature difficulty was overcome, and each of its stones stretches across from centre to centre of the columns, which, however, are somewhat close set.

By now Hawksmoor's health is giving way, and it is an "affliction" that his ailments prevent his going "to a place I love so much." Thus, everything has to be settled by correspondence, and the bundle of mausoleum letters is quite a big one. We find him begging that, even if recourse must be had to other and more distant quarries, really large stones might be got for the "Noble parts," by which he means the bases and capitals of the columns, and the architrave and cornice of the entablature. He is quite willing that, as regards the exterior, it may be finished in stucco or rubble, but this was, happily, avoided.

In 1731 building operations must have begun, for in December John Hodgson and Christopher Robson, the builders employed, send in an account of "masons work done at the Mausoleum" amounting to £338 11s. 10d., according to the "admeasurement" passed by William Etty. Many points of detail, however, have still to be settled, and as, by 1734, Hawksmoor is a confirmed invalid, unable to leave London or Greenwich, Carlisle's son-in-law, Sir Thomas Robinson (whom we have seen twenty years later in charge of the west wing), acts as go-between during



100.—DETAIL OF READING DESK.

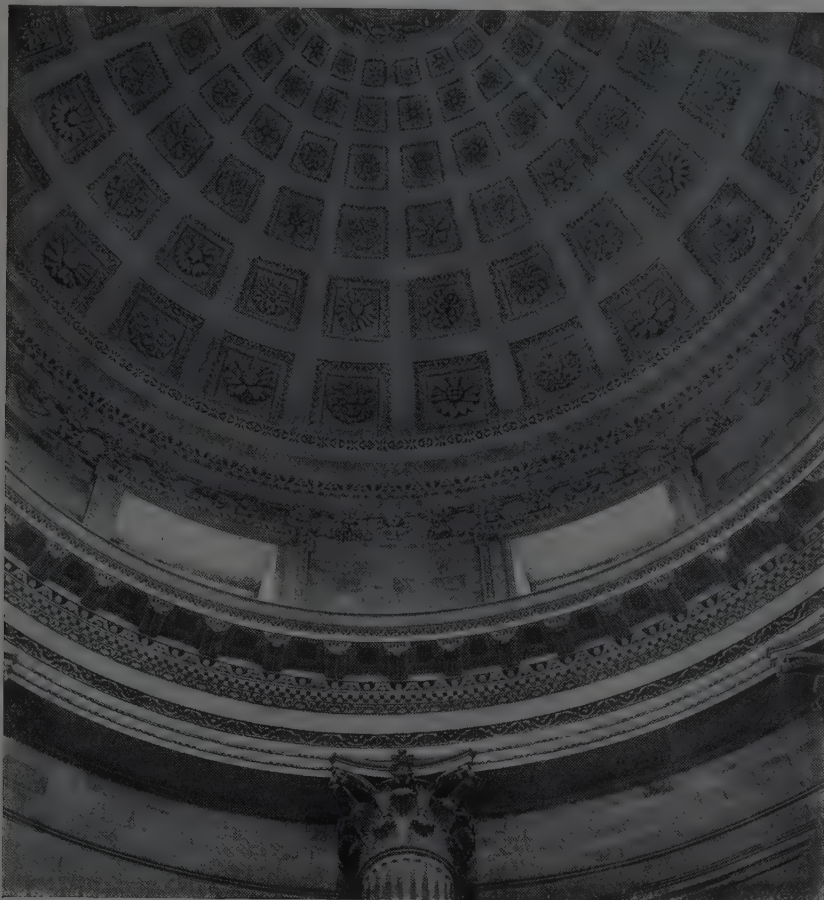
and Etty must see whether these are obtainable. Excellent as was the stone from the park quarries as to quality, it was always very difficult to get out blocks big enough for some of the purposes of Classic architecture, and Vanbrugh had suggested that if the temple columns had to be made up of many pieces it would be best to flute them in order to take the eye off the joints. For the temple, however, large stones, evidently, were procured, for each column is composed of no more than three pieces. For the much larger columns of the mausoleum few stones of the full diameter were used, and

the summer and autumn season, when Carlisle is at Castle Howard. Thus, in the autumn of that year Hawksmoor writes: "The drawings for the Mausoleum which S^r Thomas Robinson did me the honor to carry with him I hope pleases you." Nothing can be undertaken without the approbation of Lord Burlington, now firmly established as the "Apollo of the Arts." All that Hawksmoor designs has to be submitted to him, and, with Robinson and Morpeth, there is formed a committee of taste that was, probably, unwelcome to Hawksmoor, although, as he is too ill

to combat, he accepts the situation, and concludes that what Burlington had done for himself is what Carlisle would like best. Thus, he draws "the attick with two sorts of windows, one a half round as L^d Burlington has done his, and the other a square window," and Lord Carlisle is to choose the form he prefers. The allusion is to the Chiswick villa hall windows, and it is noticeable that, ill and absent as Hawksmoor was, his square windows carried the day for the mausoleum. The execution of the job is now rendered still more difficult owing to Etty's death. Although his son is, as Hawksmoor writes, "no younger than his father when he began to work with me for you," he does not seem to be in the running as his successor. Hawksmoor suggests that he had better send down "a skilled man who has worked at Greenwich 30 years," but Carlisle favours "Doe the Mason." Hawksmoor sets this man down as knowing nothing except about masonry, while he, evidently, took himself quite seriously as an architectural authority competent to criticise the principles of Vanbrugh and of Hawksmoor. Thus, in July, 1734, the latter has to defend what had been done at both house and mausoleum. He writes that—

Touching the north front, it was intended much in the same style as Mr Inigo Jones, and Mr Webb intended the Kings palace at Greenwich (now Turn'd into an hofspitall) viz^t That y^e Basement and Grand plinths upon which all the superstructure was to be depofited should be plain, and appear one solid stone (or Rock) the better to distinguiſh the upper order as well as to sustain it.

It was not necessary to treat the north and south sides of Castle Howard quite similarly, as by no possibility could the two, even at an angle, be seen together. As, after 1734, Hodgson and



101.—THE ENTABLATURE.



102.—THE INTERIOR, FROM THE ENTRANCE DOOR.

Robson's work at the mausoleum is measured up and signed by Edward Raper, we can conclude that Hawksmoor succeeded in nipping Doe's pretensions in the bud. During that year not only masons, but carvers had been at work, Charles Mitley sending in the following account for work measured in April :

1736.	To Carving 8 Cappitalls at £8. each	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64.	00.	00.
-	-	56 Modillions at 2 ^s 6 ^d a peice.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.	00.	00.
-	-	56 Rofel at 8 ^d a peice.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.	17.	4.
	To 8 Members Carving in the Intabliture at 5 ^s p foot.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30.	18.	4.

In the previous December Hawksmoor had written that he was—

103. 15. 8.

of opinion that if Y^r Lordsp began early in y^e spring you may easily cover the Mawsoleum with stone, and the outside must have a shell of Lead laid on it or it will rain in ;

and, no doubt, the building had reached that stage before the autumn of 1736. But Hawksmoor had died in the spring, and Sir Thomas Robinson writes to Carlisle in April, "I was sorry on your Lordship's account for poor Mr. Hawksmoor's death." The mausoleum work, however, went slowly on. Mitley charges £81 11s. 8d. in 1738 for carving roses and other flowers in the panels of the "Doom" (Fig. 99). In the following year he sends in a further account for £28 18s. 4d., but he was then working for the fourth earl. Charles Howard, the creator of the place, had died before the splendid structure that was to enshrine him was complete.

In the letter that Sir Thomas Robinson had written to his father-in-law regretting Hawksmoor's death, he says :

as in my opinion nothing will more add to the grandeur and magnificence of your Lordship's Mausoleum, than a proper out-wall and court round the building, I hope he had drawn a design for completing the necessary work before his death.

The "out-wall," certainly, is magnificent ; it forms a most impressive platform to the domed building as one rises up from the low level towards it (Fig. 93). It occupies the summit of the bare knoll that lifts itself high between flanking woods. The natural curves of the ground have not been interfered with beyond a little necessary levelling. Very nearly an acre of ground is occupied by this great platform, which, in sympathy with the "movement" of nature, had been given not straight retaining walls, but alternate rectangular projecting bastions and shallow segmental bays. The former are massively rusticated to give the impression of strong buttresses, and the latter are more lightly treated with niches breaking the smooth ashlar, except on the east, or entrance, side (Fig. 94), where the wall is not of a height to take niches, because the ground rises up level with the gate of entrance, through which we pass to find ourselves on a great level square of ground from the centre of which rises the lesser square that forms the undercroft of the rotunda (Fig. 95). This undercroft is wholly taken up with a great central and smaller side vaulted crypts. Some of the recesses are pierced by windows (Fig. 103), while others are built ready to receive members of the Howard family as one generation succeeds another. The crypt is entered from the ground level, the porch to it being formed by one of the landings of the ample dual stairway (Fig. 96) that carries you up to the colonnade. From the colonnade extensive views are enjoyed. Standing by the doorway (Fig. 97), we have prospects north, south and east, over the hills and dales of that part of Yorkshire ; but if we walk round so as to get the westward aspect, we get a home view, for, between the columns, we see the bridge spanning the water below us, and, above and beyond that, Vanbrugh's "Main Pile" rises with splendid skyline from among the woods and timbered park (Fig. 98).

As regards exterior finish, we find the severity of the Doric order relieved by the light and shade of the colonnade and by the lighter treatment of the stairway. Much care was bestowed on the adjuncts, such as the wrought-iron gate to the crypt porch, and the system of lead rain-water heads and pipes that commences round the dome continues down the walls of the rotunda and reappears on the undercroft. The gates, most probably, were the work of "Kit Tomfon," the local smith, whose competence to produce forecourt gates fit "for a Castle and palace" we have seen Hawksmoor questioning in 1735.

Entering by the door on the east side, we see before us a stately hall rather than a mortuary chapel (Fig. 102). The walls are divided into eight compartments by engaged Corinthian columns set on high and massive plinths and rising up to the main entablature. Four of the interspaces

have tall round-headed windows. The other four sections have plain moulded panels, the excellent material of the structure and its warm, pleasant tone supplying sufficient interest. Although Hawksmoor was ready to consent to plastered walls so long as large stones were procured for the "Noble parts," ashlar enough was obtained for every part of the building, inside and out. The main interior entablature is of ample mass, lavishly enriched. It carries the "attick," with its square windows, above which is a sculptured frieze, and then the dome, with Mitley's sculptured flowers in the diminishing panels (Fig. 101). A band of carving, taking the form of another entablature, runs round, with many a break, just below the Corinthian columns. No colour is added to the stonework of walls or dome; but in the floor, where a geometrical pattern of radiating circles and panels reflects the ceiling scheme, the stone of the lines and backgrounds is relieved by the faded black and dull red of the key-patterned framing and the floral centre. Another bright touch is supplied by the woodwork fittings, which are white and gold. They occupy seven of the recesses between columns, the door using the eighth. Each recess is enclosed by a delicately wrought rail of openwork panels in three sections, one of which is hinged to give admittance. The recess that faces you as you enter contains an altar table composed of an inlaid marble slab, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick, placed on an iron stand, wrought and gilt. This recess and the others under the windows are deep, so that, whereas the diameter between column plinths is 32 ft., the length from the door to the back of the altar recess is 45 ft. The other recesses are shallow, but in those on either side of the altar recess there is room to enter through a hinged panel and to stand behind a reading desk (Fig. 100). A low plinth, enriched with crossed palm branches, supports a stand where eagles flank a female mask and are surmounted by a book-rest. The remaining four recesses are pews, with seats running round the back and sides of the recess formed by the column plinth. Thus, a sufficient aspect of use and purpose is given without encroaching upon the floor area, and nothing mars the impression of solemn dignity that this fine work of Hawksmoor's makes upon the mind. It is his monument as well as that of the Carlisle earls. He conceived its particular character and form, and argued for its adoption. He planned and re-planned it, as the result of discussions among himself, his client and his client's friends and advisers. He saw its foundation and early progress. Then he worked out its details, and watched their progress. But he watched from a distance, for he was too ill to travel to Yorkshire during the last two or three years of his life. That did not prevent the mausoleum from occupying his close attention up to the end. It was, surely, not only the last, but the best loved architectural offspring of a somewhat disappointed and querulous old man.



103.—THE CRYPT.

CHAPTER II

BLENHEIM PALACE, OXFORDSHIRE

IT was in an atmosphere of much peace and calm that Castle Howard took shape. Lengthy as that process was, there is no trace of any seriously divergent opinions marring the friendly intercourse between architect and client. Carlisle and Vanbrugh, both men of strong character and opinions, knew when to insist and when to give way in a relationship which was so mutually agreeable that it passed from the merely professional to the social stage, and Vanbrugh becomes not only a desired guest at the Castle Howard parties, but, when he is going to take the Scarborough waters in 1716, he writes to the Duchess of Marlborough of Carlisle, that "he'll come and stay with me there all the time I do." The cloudless skies of Yorkshire are in complete contrast with the gales that kept raging in Oxfordshire during so many of the same years. Periods of sunshine were short and few. Each proved to be a calm before a storm, and each storm exceeded the previous one in fury until it reached the last tornado, when Vanbrugh, a year before his death, is denied admittance even to the precincts of the Blenheim which he had created.

When England—who with her allies had long toiled to keep her head above water in the struggle against Louis XIV's strokes for world dominion—got news, one day in the summer of 1704, that the Captain-General of her army had rolled *Le Grand Monarque* in the dust of the Donauwörth plain, her feelings of gratitude to the victor knew no bounds. Crown and Parliament vied with each other in offering generous reward. That a great estate should be given and a



104.—THE FORECOURT, FROM THE STABLE-COURT ARCHWAY.

mighty mansion built for the Duke of Marlborough were accepted as a matter of course. The only points to decide were where it should be and how the cost should be met. The first question was soon decided by the gift, from the Queen, but under Act of Parliament, of the Royal Honour of Woodstock; and, with regard to costs, Vanbrugh tells us that "her Majesty was Graciously pleased to build the duke an house as a monument of his Glorious Actions, And, as the Lords had shewn their sense of such distinguishing merit, So, the Commons on their part prayed that they might be permitted to express theirs also and to that end to make a provision for the support of his Dignity." That seems plain sailing, but it did not prove so. The extent to which the Queen and Parliament were financially committed and the manner in which payments were to be made were points never definitely settled; and this omission was the *fons et origo malorum* that fell so profusely upon Vanbrugh as, by fits and starts, the mighty pile of Blenheim Palace arose.

It was on August 13th, 1704, that Marlborough won the first and most resounding of his great victories. Ten months later Lord Treasurer Godolphin, "at the request and desire of the said Duke of Marlborough," signed a warrant appointing John Vanbrugh surveyor of all the works and buildings which the duke had "resolv'd to erect" at Woodstock, and authorising him to make and sign contracts "for and on the behalf of the said Duke." Here is a strange warrant—signed by the chief Minister of the Crown and appointing one of the Queen's officials of her Office of Works architect to a building that the Sovereign had promised to pay for, yet declaring that it was a subject who had resolved on the building of the house, and who, through the architect he had personally chosen, was responsible for payments!

This curious mixture of official action and private responsibility was soon after carried a step farther. Another official of the Office of Works, one Joynes, had already been appointed comptroller of the new works by another warrant duly signed by the head of the Treasury; but it was soon after decided that he had better have a coadjutor, and so there was appointed a man whom Vanbrugh describes as "one Mr Boulter, a Creature of her Grace's." Joynes and Boulter were to be clerks of works as well as comptrollers, and their signatures as well as that of Vanbrugh were necessary to render a contract valid.

Although Vanbrugh's warrant of appointment was not issued till June, 1705, yet not only had the site of the new building been settled, but its design had been made many months before; so that ten days after the warrant was signed we have a description of the inaugural ceremony:

Yesterday being Monday, about six o'clock in the evening, was laid the first stone of the Duke of Marlborough's House by Mr. Vanbrugge, and then seven gentlemen gave it a stroke with a hammer, and threw down each of them a guinea.

It was a holiday for the whole of that part of Oxfordshire, and the thirst and hunger caused by the music and Morris dances were appeased by "about a hundred buckets, bowls and pans filled with wine, cakes and ale." The site chosen was on a plateau above the south bank of the Glyme brook, which passes along the north side of Woodstock town and then enters the park, which its steep banks—forming almost a chine—divide into two. On the north bank stood the old manor house, where tradition pictures Henry II often coming to visit his fair Rosamond, for whom he had designed a "Bower" close by. The manor house was used as a Royal residence certainly as late as the days of Prince Henry, James I's elder son. But a siege during the Civil Wars was followed by neglect, and it was in somewhat ruinous condition when the estate came to the Duke of Marlborough. Its situation on the north bank of the little valley gave it an agreeable presence, and Vanbrugh, with his eye for the picturesque, chose, as the site for his new building, the point on the extensive plateau on the other side that included this feature in its outlook.

The plateau, ample in extent for the almost level display of a vast scheme of courts and buildings, had, to north and west, rapid drops from its edge to the water level; while, on the opposite bank, rose, to the north, the picturesque huddle of the old Royal residence, and to the west—across water that could be formed into a lake—high ground well clad with trees.

The choice of Vanbrugh as architect was, undoubtedly, the personal act of the duke. As it was to be a semi-official job, conducted by members of the Office of Works receiving moneys from the Treasury, it would have been natural for the head of the Office to have directed the undertaking. Yet Wren, the Surveyor General, is put aside, and his second in command, the Comptroller General, is to be surveyor, as the warrant puts it, "at the request and desire of

the Duke." When the latter got back from his glorious campaign and his subsequent missions to members of the Alliance in December, 1704, he will have found that the progress of Castle Howard—where the east wing and the main pile were getting fit for habitation—had given Vanbrugh a great vogue among the Kit Cat Whigs. Carlisle and Manchester will certainly have been singing his praises, and Marlborough will have become convinced that he, rather than Wren, was the man for the great undertaking. The duchess, however, had not the same conviction. She, probably, thought that Wren would have provided her with a more livable country seat, and it



105.—THE NORTH PORTICO.

was to him that she went two years later for the design of the London house for which the Queen—who had not yet quarrelled with her—granted a site in the grounds of St. James's Palace

As regards the duchess's antagonism to the Blenheim plans, Mr. Stuart Reid, in his "John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough," quotes a note written by her some years later, in which she says :

I never liked any building so much for the show and vanity of it as for its usefulness and convenience, and therefore I was always against the whole design of Blenheim, as too big and unwieldy, whether I considered the pleasure of living in it, or the good of my family who were to enjoy it hereafter.

Although, therefore, as Mr. Reid observes, "her objections were over-ruled by the duke and Lord Godolphin," and although Vanbrugh's plans were adopted without demur, yet, acquiescent humility being no part of Duchess Sarah's nature, there was sown the seed of a future crop of

nettles. "I made Mr. Vanbrugh my enemy by the constant disputes I had with him to prevent his extravagance" was her view on the matter. Vanbrugh, on the other hand, sets down the friction that soon developed to her masterful love of interference and her innate quarrelsomeness. He rebuts her accusation by describing himself as a shining example of professional conscientiousness and thrift. In a letter of July, 1708, he explains his duties and dilates on his actions as surveyor or architect of Blenheim:

But that the Appearance of every thing may exceed the Cost: 'Tis upon this that a Surveyor is to be reckon'd frugall or Lavish, And tis upon this Article depends the Work at Blenheim costing fourty thousand pound more or less. The Case is exactly Paralell to that of keeping a Frugall and yet a Creditable Table, Which I suppose nobody will say depends in any measure so much upon the Cheap buying in of the Provisions, as in a Right Management and Distribution of 'em Afterwards. This is therefore the Saving Services, I either am of, or ought to be of: I confess there must Pass two Years more, before it can be clearly Seen, whether I have done right, in this great Point or no. But this may be known at present. That I take ten times the Pains to Succeed in it, that Others in this kind of Business usually do, Their Custome is, to give themselves very little trouble, after they have once found the Generall Scheme, Whereas there is not one part of it, that I don't weigh and Consider a hundred times, before tis put in Execution, And this with two ends, one of trying to do it better, And tother of giving it Some other turn that may be as well and yet Come *Cheaper*. And tis this that makes me where I am now. Avoid all Company, And haunt the Building like a Ghost, from the Time the Workmen leave off at Six a Clock, till tis quite Dark And in a Work wheron I am, tis very Seldom that I am not Earnestly Employ'd, in Studdying how to make this the Cheapest, as well as (if possibly) the best Hous in Europe, *which I think my Ld Dukes Services, highly deserve.* And I do assure you, that this more than Common thought About it, has plentifully had the Saving Effect I have propos'd For I have daily by it, hit upon things, that have Spar'd great Sums of Money which wou'd otherways have been Unnecessarily consumed And I woud upon the Whole pawn my Life, that when this thing is finished twill by all the World be judgd to have Cost Double what it really has.

Even the duchess, in her more reflecting and less irascible moments, gives him credit for his devotion to the job, and only objects to his stiff-neckedness in not altering his designs to suit her fancies. Thus, in 1709, she writes to him:

It is extreemly obliging in you to write so warmly, and shew so much concern, to make the Building be soon finish'd; the Account you give of it is very agreeable, and I desire you won't make such Applications between you and I, as you do of the *French* policy to the Workmen, nor imply because I have not been able to serve you, while you were wanted; that I shou'd be more careless if the business were over; for though you have vext me extreemly, in forcing me to things against my Inclination; yet I shall always think myself oblig'd to you, and will always be endeavouring to be out of your Debt; because I know, that what I did not like, as well as what I did approve of, you intended for the best, and tho' it is said that in this World there is no perfection, you are not the only Architect that thinks 'tis impossible they can err; I believe it is the opinion of all that Scieince, which makes it more reasonable for me to forgive you, and I hope you will do the same to your humble Servant.

At first all had gone well. Long before the duke went across the Channel for his next campaign, in April, 1705, he and Vanbrugh had been down at Woodstock and had chosen the site, so that Vanbrugh could not only get out the general scheme of the great house, but also have a model made for the duke's approval before his departure. The Queen was equally favourable, as Vanbrugh relates in a letter he wrote to Lord Poulett when Harley put the latter at the head of the Treasury in 1710:

That the Queen herself might not be deceiv'd in what she Directed and be Afterwards dissatisfy'd with it, A very large, Exact, And intelligible Model of the Building, was made in Wood and when it was compleatd it was set in the Gallery at Kensington by her Order, and there left sometime, that she might Consider it at her leasure, both Alone and with other people, she was pleased to View it thoroughly with the PRINCE, and to Ask all Questions Necessary, for the Understanding it Perfectly, She Expressd her Self extreemly Pleas'd with it. Shew'd a desire of having it dispatch'd with all Application, and requird no sort of Alteration in it, this Model I have carefully preserv'd at Kensington that it may Appear I have exactly follow'd it.

In the same letter Vanbrugh explains how his conception of what the building should be like was endorsed by the informed opinion of society:

When the Queen had declared she would build a House in Woodstock parke for the Duke of Marlborough, and that she Mean't it in Memory of the Great Services he had done her and the Nation, I found it the Opinion of all people & of all partys I convers'd with, that altho the Building was to be calculat'd for, and Adapted to, a private Habitation, Yet it ought at y^e same time, to be consider'd as both a Royall and a National Monument, and care taken in the Design, and the Execution, that it might have y^e Qualitys proper to such a Monument, Viz^t Beauty Magnificence, and Duration I must own I was very glad, to find the General Notion, so entirely to my owne, and was encourag'd by it, to do all I cou'd, sometimes Obstinatly, and sometimes Artificially, to get such a Fabrick Agreed to, as I thought the happy Occasion, and the Queens Glory requird.

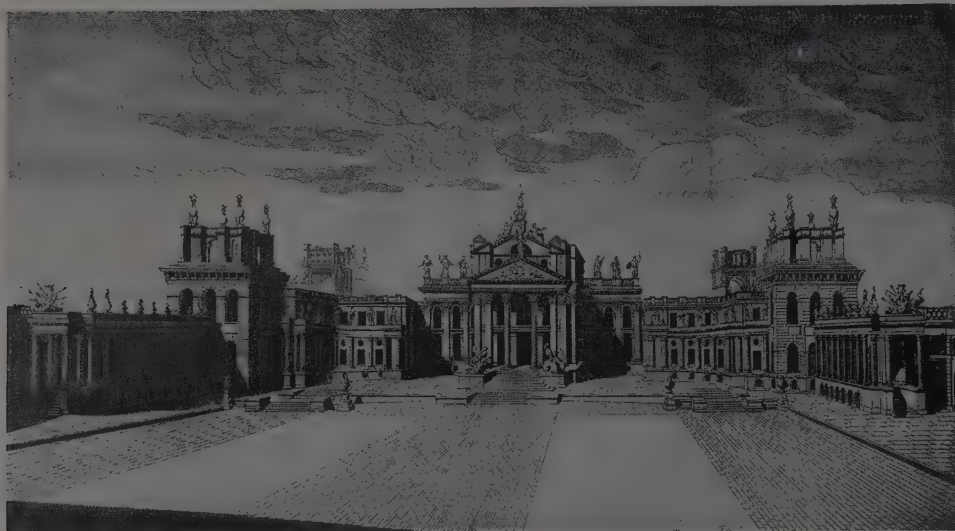
Thus, the first object was to make Blenheim a national monument of which England might be proud and Europe envious. It was a secondary consideration that family life was to be carried on within its palatial spaces. Such a scheme must certainly have rejoiced Vanbrugh's heart. Was it not an astounding piece of good fortune that the reason and the desire for such a creation came at the moment when he had tried his wings and was making a successful first flight at Castle Howard? His whole conception of architecture was monumental, and here was a mighty



106.—THE FORECOURT, FROM THE KITCHEN-COURT ARCHWAY.



107.—THE NORTH SIDE, FROM THE "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS."



108.—THE NORTH SIDE, FROM AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PRINT.

again. There is a quite singular likeness not only in the planning of both accommodation and lay-out, but also in the grouping of the architectural masses. What divergences there are arose partly from the different size and aim, and partly, no doubt, from a maturing sense of right and telling disposition. At Castle Howard we have a central block of 100ft. by 80ft.; at Blenheim that is increased to 130ft. by 105ft. But the accommodation within it is identical. As at Castle Howard, you enter on the north side into a great hall (Fig. 110A), across which you step to enter the saloon (c), which occupies the middle of the south side and is the central compartment of a State suite of nine rooms, extending, at Blenheim, to 300ft. and to about the same at Castle Howard. On either side of the hall are staircases, and beyond them rooms looking out east and west into what at Castle Howard, are clefts—that is, long, narrow spaces with open ends—but at Blenheim are enclosed courts of considerable width (o). From all four corners of the hall at either house start vaulted corridors leading eastward to the wing containing the family apartments, and westward to where, at Castle Howard, Vanbrugh designed a chapel and other accommodation, but at Blenheim, a long gallery (M). Such are the leading points of likeness; the chief difference lies in making the Blenheim wings not, as at Castle Howard, pavilions stretching out northward, but ranges continuing southward till they meet the ends of the south elevation, which, as at Castle Howard, is divided into five sections, the middle and ends projecting somewhat from the connecting links. At Castle Howard only the centre, or main pile, is of more than single-storey height, but at Blenheim the whole body of the house, centre, wings and links, is lofty—hall, saloon and gallery rising to the roof, the other ground-floor rooms having chambers over them.

The entire scheme is as much marked by movement as by mass. The main pile is higher than the rest, and its own centre swells up as a pedimented structure, topped by a huge achievement of statuary. The pavilions that end the wings north and south reach almost to the height of the main pile before there begins a towering structure of massive pilasters with open arches between them. Porticoes are set in front of hall and saloon (Figs. 105 and 121), and are big examples of Vanbrugh's clustering of columns and pilasters to give a semi-cyclopean effect, which he reproduced in varying form and sizes to suit the individuality of such houses as

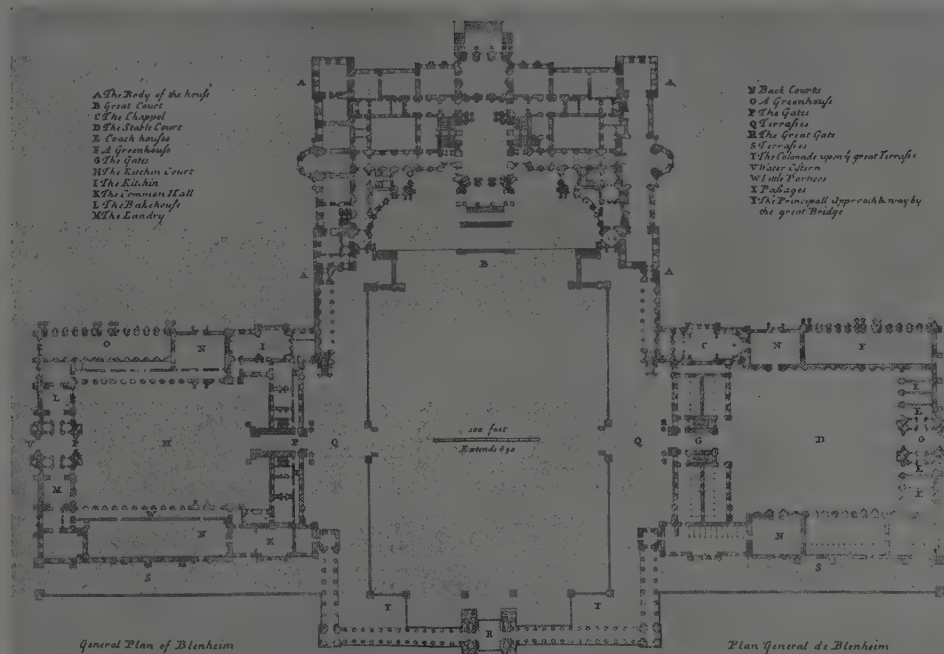
monument to be made for a man who recognised that Vanbrugh had the genius to contrive it and, therefore, insisted that it should be entrusted to him.

He had shown how big and dignified was his conception of a suitable seat for a comparatively young and undistinguished earl of no exceptional wealth. Now he could work on a far larger and more arresting scale in creating the State residence of a duke with a European reputation and with the purse of a grateful Queen and country to draw from.

Such outstanding character he fully gave to Blenheim, and yet the plan is very much that of Castle Howard over

Kimbolton, Duncombe and Seaton Delaval. On its north side, the Blenheim main pile is not, as was then usual and as we find at Castle Howard, divided into three sections of three windows each, but is in five parts. There is not only the hall projection, but, on either side of it and beyond restricted spaces occupied each by one wide window, there are secondary projections, each occupied by two narrow windows (Fig. 106). Beyond the main pile the straight line of the high façade is broken by low segmental sections, giving the idea of colonnades, but, in reality, solid (Fig. 112). They contain a variety of rooms, and also, to the east, there is a right-angle turn (N) of the north corridor giving dignified access to the family apartments (H, K, L). To the west there was no call for such accommodation, as the whole wing is occupied by the gallery, entered from the end of the north corridor, and the whole space of the segment is used for rooms and wardrobes (L, S). The south corridors, instead of continuing, as at Castle Howard, soon give place in the plan to dressing-rooms (R, R), but this idea was afterwards modified.

The greater size and dignity of Blenheim called for a nobler courtyard (Fig. 104) than that at Castle Howard, where the rapid fall of the ground prevented great depth. The plateau at Blenheim permitted the house to be set sufficiently far back from the sloping ground descending to the stream to avoid this defect. Thus, the courtyard is huge in size, being the whole width of the house, while the centres of its sides are occupied by the dignified fronts of the base and stable quadrangles (Fig. 109 H and D). These fronts are of two-storey height, have tower-capped archways (P) into the forecourt, and, after stretching northwards for 225ft., have a building of the same character set at right angles to them with seven-window fronted façades looking north (K). Such is the extent included in the engraving of "The Generall Front of Blenheim Castle" published in the first volume of the "Vitruvius Britannicus" (Fig. 107).



109.—PLAN OF HOUSE, BASE-COURTS AND FORECOURT.

From the "Vitruvius Britannicus."

The entire width was to be 890ft., and the total depth from the forecourt entrance to the south portico would have been over 600ft., but neither the forecourt great gate with flanking colonnades nor the stable-court was ever completed.



110.—PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE MAIN BUILDING.

From the "Vitruvius Britannicus."

But, stretching out from each side of this mighty composition, itself 480ft. across, the side quadrangles are continued; the buildings, however, being kept low, and, from the outside, merely showing fine walls of ashlar.

It was only the main portion, that is, what is shown in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plate, which was included in the 1705 design and model, and only that was then estimated for. Thus, when, in 1709, the duchess began to be fretful about the expense, Vanbrugh wrote to her :

The Estimate given in was between Ninety and a hundred thousand ; And it was only for the House and two Office Wings next the great Court ; For the Back Courts, Garden Walls, Court Walls, Bridge, Gardens, Plantations & Avenues were not in it, which I Suppose nobody cou'd Imagine cou'd come to less than as much more.



III.—IN THE FORECOURT: THE EASTERN ARCADE.

This I did, partly to raise an Emulation amongst them, and so have better Work done, And partly to shew, I had not a design to make advantage by this Building, as was natural for People to think I might.

The Rates agreed upon in general, (especially to the Masons, which were the great Article) were considerably less than what was paid, either in the Queens Works, or others of any Consideration, about Town.

And yet, most of the Work done for those Rates, was incomparably better. So much ; That when Mr. *Bridges*, (Surveyor of the Ordnance) was sent down to inspect the Contracts, and the Performance ; He declar'd at his return ; He cou'd not conceive how such Work had been done for such Allowances ; And made no Objection to any one Article in the Contracts.

And yet the Masons lay under very great difficulties and disadvantages, from the vast numbers of Men, they were forc'd to send for, not only to *London*, but even to the Remotest Countys in the Kingdom : For which they were Oblig'd to pay much greater Wages, than when they have only occasion for a Moderate Number, such as they can procure upon the Spot, without bringing them from their Families, in distant Habitations.

Plans and estimates having been agreed, it was Vanbrugh's next task to find, at the least possible cost, competent master masons and other leading artificers to undertake the erection—prices being duly settled with them, and contracts entered into, to be signed, as the Lord Treasurer's warrants authorised, by surveyor and comptrollers on behalf of the duke. Here, again, Vanbrugh claims that he laboured hard in the ducal interest. He relates his mode of procedure in a paper, which, shortly before Marlborough's death in 1721, he drew up as his "Justification" :

I sent to great Variety of Workmen of the same Trade (in different Countrys, and quite unacquainted with one another) for their Proposals.

And when by that means I had at last brought the Prices to be moderate Instead of throwing so great a Work into the hands of a few Undertakers, I divided it amongst many, three, or four, or five, of each Trade, with different Rates according to the Performance expected from them.

We have seen (page 4) that Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor had desired that the Castle Howard work should be entrusted to London artificers, and that Vanbrugh had some complaint to make of the workmanship at first performed by the York master masons that Carlisle insisted upon appointing. At Blenheim there was no such difficulty. The finest English master masons employed in London after the Restoration and throughout the Wren period came from the Cotswolds, and some were Oxfordshire natives. Chief of these, when Blenheim began to be built, was Edward Strong, the elder. His grandfather, Timothy Strong, had been a Cotswold builder and quarry-owner in the time of Charles I. His son, Valentine, continued the business, in which he brought up all his six sons. Thus, the eldest of these we find, under Charles II, employed at Cornbury Park by Hugh May, and at Trinity College, Oxford, by Wren. After the Great Fire of 1666 he began sending up stone from his quarry to London, the Thames offering convenient barge transit. He himself also migrated to London, and on June 21st, 1675, we



112.—IN THE FORECOURT: THE EASTERN SEGMENT.

find him laying the first stone of St. Paul's Cathedral in the presence of Sir Christopher Wren. He died a bachelor six years afterwards, and his brother Edward succeeded him as head of the business, continuing the work of St. Paul's, where we find him signing his first acquittance in 1683. Although the chief, he was only one of a considerable number of master masons among whom Wren had divided the stonework of the cathedral, so that, beside the Strongs, we find the names of half a dozen other master masons. The same system was adopted for Blenheim, where Edward Strong was given the leading place, but among others employed were Banks and Townsend. The Townsend headquarters, as we have seen (page xli), was Oxford, where the elder was Mayor in 1721. They were the builders employed under Hawksmoor at All Souls, Queen's and other colleges. We shall also come across them at Kings Weston (page 144). He, however, did not begin work as early as Edward Strong at Blenheim, where the progress of the work may be traced in the letters of Vanbrugh and of Hawksmoor to Joynes and Boulter.

The masonry of most part, if not the whole, of the main block was entrusted to Edward Strong, but Banks is also at work from the first. Ashlar of promising quality was found at hand in the park, and thus the transport bill for this heaviest and most used material promised to be very low. Throughout the summer and autumn it was freely used, but when winter came it was found to lack frost-resisting qualities. Considerable damage accrued, giving rise to adverse criticism, readily accepted and developed by the duchess. Vanbrugh evidently held that much of the trouble arose from insufficient protection of incomplete work, and, that if there was to be blame, it should fall on the duchess's "creature" Boulter, to whom, on January 1st, 1706, he writes :

I had a Letter from you in which you mention some things relating to M^r Bankes's Work ; But you say nothing of the Additional Covering w^{ch} I writ to you upon. The flying of the Stone has made a great noise amongst People who are glad of any Occasion to discredit the Work and those who are Concern'd in it. Now, tho' I am satisfy'd the damage is easily repair'd, and what has flown of no Consequence to the Structure in Generall, Yet I shou'd have been glad we had taken such measures as not to give any handle even for a Disadvantageous report, and that I believe had been prevented by a timely Covering. I find M^r Strong is not satisfy'd with the Covering as it is even now, nay he tells me of some parts that Are not cover'd at all ; He says you tould him you had not boards enow ; but I fancy there must have been some other reason, because boards enow were to be had, And the River has long been in a Condition to send 'em.

I won't pretend to determine any positive Opinion on this matter till I have been downe, but as far as I can at present See, It Seems as if you thought the Covering Sufficent, tho' Others did not. I'll only say at present, that whatever your thoughts are of it, I'm sure you'll be in the right to do whatever I desire you in this matter, And therfore I once more make it my Request, that you will give such direction, that if any Severe frosts or Rains shou'd happen the remaining part of the Winter the Work may not receive any farther damage by 'em for want of Shelter. 'Tis I that am Answerable for these things as far as the Direction go's, and you & M^r Joynes for the Execution. You never had in your Life to do with any body more easy than you'll find me, & I beg nothing may ever happen to make any dispute between us.

It had, however, to be admitted, that it was the stone itself that was principally at fault. The park quarry was abandoned, and resort made to more distant ones, much additional outlay on haulage thus being incurred. From that moment Vanbrugh's position began to be "uneasy." The duke, being abroad campaigning or diplomatising eight months of the year, and much occupied with State matters during the remaining four which he spent in England, it was the duchess who had most to do with Blenheim affairs, and watched Vanbrugh as a terrier would a rat. Starting with the conviction that his ideas were too grand and extravagant, any hearsay evidence that might be used to prove her point was at once accepted. She listened to his critics and detractors with a view to keeping him in check and minimising the outlay. The additional haulage bill proved an excellent peg on which to hang her criticism. That the terms, settled when the park stone was decided on, should be exceeded would only be bearable if a skinflint policy was maintained towards the carters and labourers who were employed and who, in consequence, were ever dissatisfied and often on strike, so that there was recurring danger that the whole job might be held up from an insufficient supply of materials for the masons.

Moreover, as operations very soon extended beyond the main block, and as "outworks," such as kitchen-court, terrace, bridge and garden walls, were taken in hand, the calls on the Treasury for remittances swelled more and more, and it was difficult for the duchess or anyone else to keep a hold over expenditure, as no estimates of their probable total cost appear to have been made as a preliminary to their being undertaken. Vanbrugh is certainly rather cavalier in his treatment of this matter when he tells the duchess—alarmed at nothing whatever being finished in 1709, although half as much again had already been spent as the amount of the original estimate—that nobody could possibly suppose that the additional work in hand could come to anything less than a sum equal to that of the main block. These "outworks" must have been begun in 1705, for Vanbrugh then asks how much timber "has gone in Mr. Wise's work." George London and Henry Wise, owners of the Brompton Nurseries and joint authors of "The Compleat Gardener," were the chief horticulturists employed by the Crown and nobility for the making and conduct of their gardens, and the Blenheim lay-out as illustrated in the "Plan of Woodstock Park, with Blenheim Houfe, Gardens, etc.," that appeared in the third volume of the "Vitruvius Britannicus" (Fig. 135), was, no doubt, conducted by them from Vanbrugh's designs. There is no indication that, at Castle Howard or at Blenheim, any other designer than the architect himself was employed in the remarkable schemes of lay-out that the "Vitruvius Britannicus" illustrates. Vanbrugh's place as the originator of informal gardening and the introducer into the grounds of country houses of the "picturesque" as conceived and represented by the



113.—IN THE FORECOURT: LOOKING THROUGH THE WESTERN ARCADE.

then popular landscape painters, such as Claude, is discussed in the chapters on Stowe and Claremont.

While he was in England, in the winter of 1706, Marlborough asked for an estimate, not of any totals, but of the expenditure proposed for the current season. His object was to arrange with Godolphin for sufficient supplies to meet it, for, although the war had taken such a successful turn, its cost was increasing, despite Godolphin's wonderfully economical financing, and it was beginning to be difficult to find means for other heads of expenditure. The duke having applied to Vanbrugh, he explains to Boulter the lines on which the estimate should be drawn up :

My Lord Duke has Spoak to me within these two days to prepare a true State of things to lay before him with what I wou'd propose for this Years execution. I believe in Order to this, and some Other things 'twill be necessary we All



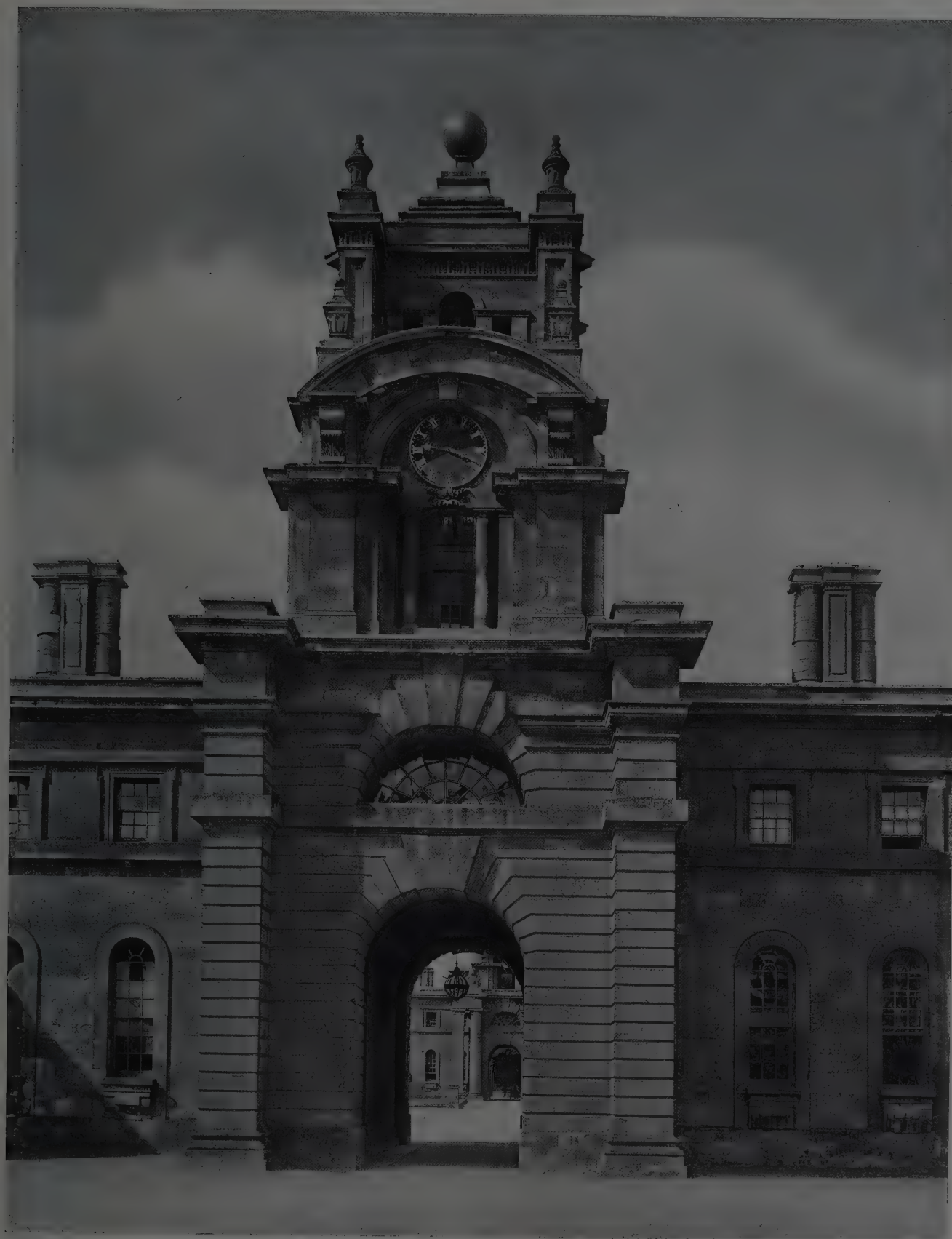
114.—IN THE FORECOURT: LOOKING OUT FROM THE CENTRAL PORTICO.

meet together here in Towne, and the Sooner the better. I therfore desire you'll think of being here for one Week before M^r Joynes go's downe, M^r Rives will be with you the end of next Week, and may Supply both your Absence for so small a time. 'Twill be necessary in order to lay before My Lord Duke what he desires, that I shou'd have such an abstract of the Severall heads of the past expence ; that I may distinguish between what has been Spent upon the Gardens and Other outworks, and that part of the Building that comes within the Estimate that was given in about a Year Since.

That was in January, and in March we find that on the eve of the duke's return to the Continent the Treasury is still backward in its payments :

'There's no more money Order'd yet, tho' we are in daily expectation of it. My Lord Duke talks of going about the 20th. And I hope will so Adjust things with my L^d Treasurer before he leaves us, that We may begin Our Campaign at least as Soon as he do's his.

On the whole, Vanbrugh's campaign was as successful as that of the duke—who won the battle of Ramillies in May—for in September Godolphin wrote to him as to Blenheim : " The building is so far advanced that one may see perfectly how it will be when it is done. The side where you intend to live is the most forward part." In 1707, it is not only masons and carpenters,



115.—IN THE FORECOURT: LOOKING THROUGH THE BASE-COURT TOWER-ARCH.

but joiners who are employed. Window-frames and sashes are being made. We have seen these spelt "Chasses" by Hawksmoor (page xlv), but Vanbrugh gives another variant when he writes and tells Boulter in July :

I tould you a good while Since the Joyners demands for Shashes. & I remember what we agreed to give them they consented to. But I have now proposed a different Sort of Shash to 'em ; which is not only thicker than the Others we design'd, but made in a Manner much more close and lasting. This requires both more Stuff & Labour And the Lowest price I can get 'em to, is 3^s pr f^t. Which however I am of Opinion is more reasonable to give, than the Usual price for the Usual Work. I don't know well how to describe this manner to you by Letter ; but M^r Hawksmoor is



116.—THE EASTERN GATEWAY INTO THE BASE-COURT.

*It was designed to support and mask a water-cistern to supply the kitchens, etc., by gravitation.
(See Fig. 109, v.)*

of my Opinion, So if you have no Objection to the price, I'll Order 'em to proceed, for 'tis high time they shou'd be in hand. Thus far I can explain this thing to you; That the Shashes are all Solid, without anything glew'd, And the frames are Oblig'd to be very much larger than usuall & all of Oak. The Shashes are out of 2 Inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ Stuff.

Even for the heavy sash - barring that was then in vogue, 2in. "stuff" was generally considered ample. But Vanbrugh's love of massiveness extended to these details, and he specifies an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ in. That Hawksmoor liked the same we still see in some of the windows at Easton Neston (page 137).

Soon after that Vanbrugh is off for his yearly summer visit to Castle Howard, but on his way to York he halts at Hatfield and writes to

Boulter as to proper prices to arrange with bricklayers and plumbers. Then he passes on to the disappointing news that the anticipated progress of the work is not likely to be realised :

I find M^r Strong dispairs of getting up both the East Towers w^{ch} I am heartily vex'd at ; but I am still more Concern'd to hear him even doubt of quite finishing One. Pray follow him hard ; and if Possible don't let him have the pretence of wanting propper Stone. I hope Townesend won't want Spurring but lest he shou'd, pray have an Eye to him, for I much fear his Design may be only to finish the Parapet & leave the Chimneys & Tower behind, w^{ch} must not be on Any Account.

This last paragraph gives us an inkling of where operations on the main building stood after a couple of years of work. As at Castle Howard, a beginning had been made at the east end where the family quarters were located, the early occupation of which was, in either case, desired. By July, 1707, the whole east range was evidently up to cornice level, and the reference to the plumbers implies that it was being roofed, but, as we have seen, the pavilions at each end of this elevation were to be topped with the fanciful coronas that Vanbrugh calls "towers," and he had evidently hoped that Strong would complete them both before outside work stopped for the winter, by which time Marlborough would be back in England and would derive much satisfaction if he

found the scaffolding down and all exterior work complete in this section of the building. When November does come, Vanbrugh is in a perfect fever to get things forward for the ducal visit, and on the 11th he lets Boulter know :

I waited this morning on my L^d Duke, who is eager to come downe but will however forbear till the Scaffolds are Struck about the great Pavillion and Quadrant ; w^{ch} he wou'd therefore have finish'd preferable to every thing. I have writ to M^r Strong this Post to direct all his hands may be employ'd that way that can be, & I desire you'll by some effort or Other get him every Stone he wants for his Cornice or Other part of that work. Both my L^d Duke and Lady Dutchess are in perfect good humour with the Acc^t : I have given 'em of what we have done and are doing, And I wou'd fain keep 'em so if possible which nothing will more contribute to, than if I can shortly tell 'em the Work is ready for their Visit.



117.—THE COVERED WAY IN THE BASE-COURT.

Boulter's reply is unsatisfactory, and Vanbrugh returns to the charge on November 18th :

I rec'd y^r Answer to my last And am much concern'd at this Difficulty to get Stone, especially finding my L^d Duke out of patience About it ; for this morning, telling him I fear'd it wou'd be three Weeks yet, before the Scaffolds cou'd be Struck about the Great Tower, he was quite peevish upon it, being resolv'd to go downe by that time. He therefore Order'd me positively, that nothing shou'd be left undone to get that part dispatch'd. So that whatever extraordinary cost may be necessary to fetch the Stone in, it must not be Spar'd, nor One moments time lost.

Still more urgent instructions to hasten forward follow on December 18th, for the duke had fixed the following Monday for his visit, and " comes downe full of Expectation."

Certainly he will have found plenty in hand, although nothing—not even the shell of the family wing—was quite complete. Very much, however, was done during 1708. On March 29th Vanbrugh writes that the duke is to be down again before he leaves for the Continent and hopes to find Strong well forward with the vaulting of the corridors in the main block, and Banks with that of the eastern of the two colonnades (Fig. 111), which, on the north front, project from the end pavilions and reach down the sides of the forecourt to near the point where the archways into the side courts are topped with towers. The eastern, or kitchen, court is in Townsend's

hands, and the tower should be up to cornice level before the duke arrives. But stone is short, for the Oxford clay is not yet dried up and "the ways" are still so miry that Boulter "can't make the Teams stirr." Vanbrugh himself is coming down in Easter week, and hopes Hawksmoor will accompany him, although the latter "has a most Cruell fit of the Gout upon him." In May the duchess is to come down to see how far the rooms in that eastern wing which Lord Godolphin had found well forward in 1706 were reaching completion. So plastering must be started, and—

the Covings in her Bedchamber and my L^d Dukes Rooms shou'd be lath'd that she may the better Understand them. I therfore desire you'll get Some Laths in ; Not only just for that perticular, but the Business in Generall, for I wou'd Set the Plasterer to Work in the Offices, and in the Upper Rooms of the House as soon as might be.

In September there is to be a further descent of the formidable duchess, so that Vanbrugh writes to Joynes :

My Lady Dutchess designing to be downe the begining of next Week, I desire you'll let the Plaisterers dispatch her Bedchamber the first thing ; and let the Two Great Windows that are glaz'd be put up there. And that the Room may look the better, let the Carpenter instead of Rough boards, lay downe Some of those they have plain'd, as likewise in her Dressing Room & Closet, But then twill be Necessary to put up a Temporary door between her Bedchamber and the Bowwindowroom to keep people out ; as likewise at her Dressing room towards the Back Stair, and at the West end of her Long Closet, that So all the Rooms of her Appart^h : may be enclos'd.

The Bow-window Room (Fig. 110, H) occupies the centre of the east elevation, and the duchess's bedroom was, as her successor's still is, that next to the north, beyond which were her dressing-room, "Long Closet" and other wardrobes and store places, occupying the north-east pavilion. The duke's suite of chambers, wardrobe, closet and waiting-room (w) lay, together with an ante-room, at the other side of the Bow-window Room and stretched up to the south-east pavilion, of which the ground-floor room was the "Grand Cabinet" (g). The wainscoting of these apartments was then in the hands of Smallwell. He and Hobson, whose name soon after also crops up at Blenheim, were among the principal joiners employed at St. Paul's. Smallwell seems to have been Vanbrugh's special favourite, and we find him doing work for the Duke of Newcastle both in Lincoln's Inn Fields and at Claremont.

Duchess Sarah's visit is postponed, but by the end of September it is again imminent, and Joynes is told to make a final tidying up. Even if Townsend and his carvers have not finished "the four Pinnacles for My L^d Dukes Tower"—that, presumably, over the Grand Cabinet pavilion—one at least is to be set up "w^{ch} with the Moddell in Wood will show what is design'd." The same applies to the other tower, described in this letter as Mr. Townsend's, but elsewhere as "My Lady's." Even if the carvers have not finished here, "let the Scaffolds be Struck."

It was intended that the close of 1709 should see such progress in the east wing as to render it possible for the duke and duchess to make some sort of use of it. That implied also much advance in the kitchen court, for its essential offices would have to be ready for the service of the occupied wing. In July the first of the several abortive peace negotiations were in progress, and Vanbrugh writes from Blenheim to the duchess, hoping that the duke's "house here will be ready to receive him, as soon as the Glorious end he is making of this long liv'd Warr will give him leave to enjoy it in peace." Not only is the shell of the east wing complete, but the main block, including hall and saloon, is almost ready for roofing, so that, despite much rain and, therefore, haulage difficulties as regards stone, all this part is to be covered before winter sets in. In other directions also—in garden making and park planting, kitchen court finishing and bridge building—there is much activity. But there is also a good deal of friction. The duchess is beginning to be definitely opposed to much that the architect is doing. There were three chief bones of contention—the elaboration and expensiveness of the kitchen court, the prodigious scale of the building, and the question of preserving at least some portion of the old Royal manor house. Especially as regards the first of these, but also in respect of the "new building" generally, her Grace has made her "uneasiness" so manifest, that in June Vanbrugh has to explain that all is for the best under the best possible architect. True, the kitchen court is built of ashlar and not of rubble, but then that is sheer economy, for were there not whole stacks of ashlar lying about that were not sizeable for the main block, but were quite useful for the secondary court?

I desire leave to acquaint you ; That in so great and regular a Building as Blenheim is, it cannot be avoided, but there will be a great Quantity of Stone, which neither for the Size nor Quality is capable of being used in the Principle parts of the House There being an Absolute Necessity in that, of using Stones of particular Sizes, and which will Square and Range with one another. This, Madam, we consider'd in the beginning of the Worke ; and concluded to lay those wast

Stones by to be used in the out Offices and Court Walls : Which has Accordingly been executed last summer in this Kitchen Court, This is the reason of its being Built with Freestone, And for the Manner of disposing that Materiall, I can't See where the Objection lyes. 'Tis perfectly plain, and only Ax'd, not Smooth'd and Clean'd as in other places : And if upon this whole it makes a better Appearance than such Courts do in other Houses ; tis only owing to its Forme, not its Workmanship or Ornaments. I'm under some disappointment in this, for I was in hopes to have been Thank'd for it, As to the Cover'd ways which lead dry to the Inferior Offices ; 'tis no more than what has been very much practis'd in Ancient buildings, And is I think very much wanting in the New : They are not made out of respect to the Offices they lead to, but for the Shelter of the People who are so perpetually oblig'd to frequent 'em. My Lord Carlisle was so far from thinking it an extravagance, when I propos'd it to him, that he very readily put it in practice. And here I must desire y^r Grace to observe, That if any thing gives that back Court at Blenheim a more than Ordinary Appearance, 'tis those Corridores being open'd to it with Arches, which has been much less expensive, than if the Wall had been quite close. And tis by such kind of things as these, that for the same expence, One house may be made to look incomparably better than another. I don't know how your Grace comes to charge me, however, with building this Court without shewing the plan to my Lord Duke ; for I do positively Affirme I did shew it him ; And can bring I believe those people to Swear they saw me do it. I have now by me the very paper I layd before him ; And I remember no Objection he made but that there was not provision on the Stable Side for a Sufficient Number of Coach houses. But for the future if any new work is begun, I'll desire the favour the Plan may be Sign'd.

In the treatment of this court Vanbrugh had his way—all is ashlar, and the shelter corridors, with their open arches, are all there (Fig. 117). A most important feature is the entrance arch (Fig. 116) from the town side. There was every reason for this way being dignified, as it is through it and the court that the hall door has ever been approached on all but ceremonious occasions. Moreover, there was practical reason for the height and massiveness of this archway and for one of like character intended, though never built, in the stable court. The upper parts of these structures were to accommodate the cisterns for supplying water to the entire premises. Thus, when, in July, Vanbrugh drew up the list of the various works that the duke had previously agreed to, he describes the eastern archway as :

A Tower to raise the Great Cistern upon, which receives the Water from the Engine, And from whence the pipes go into the Gardens, Offices, and other Places in the East end of the house.

He then defends the fine architectural features of the whole kitchen court, insisting that—

This Tower is at the same time a Gateway for an entrance to the House from the East Avenue : which will be the constant way of approach from London and Oxford. And therefore 'twas necessary the Inside of this Court should be Regular, Descent and clean, which is all it pretends to ; it being impossible to make any thing in nature plainer.

As regards the bridge, controversy was much warmer, and, big and elaborate as it is, Vanbrugh was never allowed to carry out his full scheme, which certainly was only excusable as a grand dramatic approach to the grand National Monument. Vanbrugh, no doubt, rejoiced at the lie of the land—the depth and narrowness of the little chine through which the brook ran—which gave him the excuse for so huge and lofty an arch and for the mighty embankment or “ causeway ” that carries the road level from the north park and its grandly devised avenue (Fig. 135 E) across the bridge (H) and up to the entrance of the forecourt (A). If not in 1706, it must have been begun early in the following year, for, in July, 1707, we hear that, whereas orders to stop it had been given, work on it was then to be resumed, Banks being the master mason concerned. However, it does not progress rapidly, for it is not till 1710 that the “ great Arch of the Bridge ” is set down as one of the items for the season's work requiring an adequate supply of material—the Headington quarries, near Oxford, being one of the principal sources from which the stone for the arch is to come. How far, at that date, the duchess was quarrelling with Vanbrugh on this subject does not appear, but her views on it took shape some years later in a letter she wrote to her friend, Mrs. Clayton, wherein she declares that she had counted thirty-three rooms in the bridge, and adds, “ four houses are to be at each corner of the bridge ; but that which makes it so much prettier than London Bridge, is that you may sit in six rooms and look out at window into the high arch while the coaches are driving over your head.” The original scheme, as represented in a surviving engraving by Van Gucht (Fig. 132), certainly raised the bridge buildings much higher than they are now, but Duchess Sarah's “ four houses at each corner ” dwindle down to single open-arched pavilions. Even as it is (Fig. 131), Sir Reginald Blomfield describes it as a “ Titanic monument of about four times the scale of the house,” but one almost imagines that, like the duchess, he was looking at it through a magnifying glass, for the whole design of it and its causeway is sympathetic and consonant with the 800ft. frontage of the huge structure to which it forms the approach. An enthusiastic contemporary poet describes the arch span of 101ft. as one—

Thro' which the Danube might collected pour
His spacious urn.



118.—THE SOUTH SIDE, FROM THE "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS."

The centrepiece above the portico, representing Marlborough on horseback amid emblems of war, gave way to a huge bust of Louis XIV, taken from the gate of Tournay, as seen in Fig. 120.



119.—THE SOUTH SIDE, FROM AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PRINT.

It was evidently taken, not from the building as completed, but from the same drawing as engraved in the "Vitruvius Britannicus."

The Glyme brook, however, is not a Danube, and the plan of the park in the "Vitruvius Britannicus"—as also an engraving published in 1752 (Fig. 133)—shows that Vanbrugh, while broadening the waters into a lake along much of the valley, designed it as a canal under the bridge.

It was, however, neither the kitchen court nor the bridge that roused to its highest point the duchess's acerbity. It was around the old Manor House that controversy really raged, and the storm led to so much use of ink and paper that it affords us valuable evidence of what Vanbrugh's position was as the real pioneer of the Romantic and Picturesque schools that blossomed forth in England during the following generation. Unfortunately, his philosophic theories in this direction made no appeal to Duchess Sarah, who saw in them a mere cloak on his part for furthering his personal convenience at the expense of the Blenheim building fund, which, as time went on, the duchess realised would end by falling very considerably upon the duke's private resources.

As Vanbrugh's visits to the Blenheim works were long and frequent alike in winter and in summer, he desired adequate and handy quarters for himself, and such, it would appear, were not to be had in Woodstock town, where Boulter lodged "at Alderman Johnsons." The plan of the park, however, shows that there were three keepers' lodges (F), the principal one lying by the north-west end of the great avenue. That seems to have been at Vanbrugh's disposal, but he found it was at an inconvenient distance from his work, whereas the old Manor House was close by. Moreover, he saw the real merit of this decaying piece of old English architecture as a valuable bit of local history and as a feature in the extensive "outworks" that he was planning for Blenheim as for Castle Howard. He, therefore, gave orders that the least ruined parts should be repaired, and, writing to Boulter in March, 1708, he says he is glad to hear that its "Roof is up."



120.—THE SOUTH SIDE, FROM THE EAST.

Three months later he enquired whether "Mr Bankes had near done at the old Manour," and hopes "all is ready for the Plumber to cover it." It would seem that, so far, the duchess had no knowledge of all this, but quite meant the whole of it to be swept away in due course as an eyesore. Did she unexpectedly find the place renovated and Vanbrugh comfortably installed therein on the occasion of her autumn visit of that year? That seems likely. Anyhow, the fat was in the fire, and an accusation of squandering £3,000 of the public money for his own purposes on a building which his clients detested and were determined to eradicate was launched against him. To this he replied in a stately memorandum on Good Taste :

Reasons Offer'd for Preserving some Part of the Old Manor. June 11th.—1709.

There is perhaps no one thing, which the most Polite part of Mankind have more universally agreed in ; than the Value they have ever set upon the Remains of distant Times Nor amongst the Severall kinds of those Antiquitys, are there any so much regarded, as those of Buildings ; Some for their Magnificence, or Curious Workmanship ; And others ; as they move more lively and pleasing Reflections (than History without their Aid can do) On the Persons who have Inhabited them ; On the Remarkable things which have been transacted in them, Or the extraordinary Occasions of Erecting them. *As I believe it cannot be doubted, but if Travellers many Ages hence, shall be shewn The Very House in which so great a Man Dwelt, as they will then read the Duke of Marlborough in Story ; And that they Shall be told, it was not only his Favourite Habitation, but was Erected for him by the Bounty of the Queen And with the Approbation of the People, As a Monument of the Greatest Services and Honours, that any Subject had ever done his Country: I believe, tho' they may not find Art enough in the Builder, to make them Admire the Beauty of the Fabrick they will find Wonder enough in the Story, to make 'em pleas'd with the Sight of it.*

I hope I may be forgiven, if I make some faint Application of what I say of Blenheim, to the Small Remains of ancient Woodstock Manour.

It can't indeed be said, it was Erected on so Noble nor on So justifiable an Occasion, But it was rais'd by One of the Bravest and most Warlike of the English Kings ; And tho' it has not been Fam'd, as a Monument of his Arms, *it has been tenderly regarded as the Scene of his Affections. Not amongst the Multitude of People who come daily to View what is arising to the Memory of the Great Battle of Blenheim ; Are there any that do not run eagerly to See what Ancient Remains are to be found. of Rosmonds Bower. It may perhaps be worth some Little Reflection Upon what may be said, if the Very footsteps of it Are no more to be found.*

But if the Historicall Argument Stands in need of Assistance ; there is Still much to be said on Other Considerations.

That Part of the Park which is Seen from the North Front of the New Building, has Little Variety of Objects Nor dos the Country beyond it Afford any of Value, It therefore Stands in Need of all the helps that can be given, which are only Five ; Buildings, And Plantations These rightly dispos'd will indeed Supply all the wants of Nature in that Place. And the Most Agreeable Disposition is to Mix them : In which this Old Manour *gives so happy an Occasion for ;* that were the inclosure fill'd with Trees [principally Fine Yews and Hollys], Promiscuously Set to grow up in a Wild Thicket, so that all the Building left, (which is only the Habitable Part and the Chappel) might Appear in Two Risings amongst 'em, it wou'd make One of the Most Agreeable Objects that the best of Landskip Painters can invent. And if on the Contrary this Building is taken away ; then there remains nothing but an Irregular, Ragged, Ungovernable Hill, the deformitys of which are not to be cured *but by a Vast Expence ; And that at last will only remove an Ill Object but not produce a good One, whereas to finish the present Wall for the Inclosures, to forme the Sloops and make the Plantation (which is all that is now wanting to Compleat the Whole Designe) wou'd not Cost Two Hundred pounds.*

I take the Liberty to offer this Paper with a Picture to Explain what I endeavour to Describe, That if the Present Direction for destroying the Building, shou'd happen hereafter to be Repented of, I may not be blam'd for Neglecting to set in the truest Light I cou'd, a Thing that Seem'd at least to me so very Materiall.

J Vanbrugh

Appended to this is a remark—if not in the duchess's own hand, at least in her own words—that it has "something ridiculous in it to preserve the house for himself." He also wrote to Godolphin traversing the report that £3,000 had been laid out. Only £1,100 had, so far, been spent, and that was "by 1000 lb the cheapest way that could be thought on to manage that hill so as not to be a fault in the approach." To this the duchess appends the note, "all that Sir J. V. says in this letter is false," and she insists that not a stone should remain of the interesting old fabric that Vanbrugh so rightly sought to save. Only slightly less acrid was she on the subject of the conservatories, or "Green houses," which were to back against the base-court walls, and face south on to the east and west gardens of parterres (Fig. 109, O and F). That to the east was allowed and, in general form, it still exists (Fig. 127). But its fellow to the west was objected to, mildly by the duke and hotly by the duchess. Vanbrugh had re-planned it so as to be like the Kensington Orangery, with end compartments, and thus gave it the character of a "Detach'd Gallery," rather than of "a Magazine for a parcell of foolish Plants." Would not the "Tytian hangings"—one of the sets of tapestries obtained by the duke—look well in it, or, as there was no library in the house itself, might not that be "the business (or pretended business, at least), of this Gallery?" The books could be accommodated in "handsome presses like cabinets," and these could be "plac'd Regularly" along the walls with chairs, tables and couches. The objection raised by the duke that this building would project so far southward



121.—THE SOUTH PORTICO.

as to lessen the outlook from the real gallery windows, he combats strongly, and answers his Grace that—

it Seems clearly to me the most Valluable Room in the Whole Building; And I never saw any one of this kind Abroad (which scarce any fine Place is without) that cou'd compare with it, for the Extreame pleasantness of its Situation.

All this lengthy and well organised plea, however, merely draws from the duchess the cruel remark :

The second green house, or a detached gallery I thank God I prevented being built ; nothing, I think can be more mad than the proposal, nor a falsder description of the prospect.

Meanwhile, in other respects, Vanbrugh was trying hard to meet the difficult lady's wishes, and in the same month of July that he pleads with the duke for the west greenhouse he sends to the duchess designs—

Of the Manner intended for finishing the Salon, the Pannells at the bottom are to be of Wainscote, and run even without any breaks so that there will be room for above Twenty Chairs besides Tables The Pillasters and Door Moldings are to be of Marble, with the Moldings About the Niches where the Figures Stand. The Figures intended for these Niches are now in the Palace of a Gentleman in Italy. The Late King had given Orders to buy them a little before he dy'd, And My Lord Duke has sent Directions to Florence to purchase them.

Not only the "Figures" from the Italian Palace, but other statues and objects in marble were being obtained from that country, and reached the Tower Wharf early in 1710. Vanbrugh has had them—

well packed up in cases which (with the two Black Figures M^r Churchill gave Your Grace, and the Tables from my Lord Cardigan) I have sent to Blenheim. And I am glad that I can now assure Your Grace, the Model of the Fountain of piazza Navona, is of Bernini's doing. I shewed it before it went to Blenheim to M^r Gibbons and the best connoisseurs here, who at first sight owned it to be what was pretended, and think it scarce to be valued. The four figures make the most valuable part of it and there is but one of them that has received any damage worth naming.

Payments to Grinling Gibbons are mentioned in a letter of Hawksmoor to Joynes in 1710. There is no special reference to wood carvings, but allusions occur to his work in marble in 1712, when the saloon was in hand and marble was coming by barge from London. Vanbrugh is then also expecting, "by the return of the yachts" from Flanders, "the bust of the King of France," which was a prize taken from the gate of Tournai. It was set up on the top of the southern portico—where it may still be seen (Fig. 121)—in substitution of the equestrian statue of the duke, intended by Vanbrugh and appearing in an engraving of the original design for the south front—another of the set of five that includes the bridge, engraved by Van Gucht (Fig. 119). Although undated, and appearing in the British Museum Catalogue as of "about 1750," the set may be that for which Vanbrugh was having drawings prepared in 1710, when he writes to the duke—busy capturing towns in Artois—that he is sending him designs for the bridge and north front, "true but in no measure prepared for an Engraver to work after." He, however, adds:

I have got the East Front already engraved here, and the South is doing, I propose to adjust all the prints to a scale that they may form a book as is usually practised abroad in such cases.

This letter of Vanbrugh's is dated September 22nd, which was five months after the Marlborough influence over Queen Anne had finally ceased. In the previous April there had taken place the last interview between "Mrs Morley and Mrs Freeman." By such familiar names had the Queen and the duchess called themselves ever since the old days when both were out of favour with William and Mary, and when the weak Anne leant upon the strong Sarah. But that strength gradually showed itself of too rough a nature to be borne by the Queen, who preferred the softer manner of Abigail Hill. That was well seen by Robert Harley, who had left the Ministry when, in 1708, it became "All Whig." With an indefatigable persistence of intrigue he set to work to undermine the position of the Marlboroughs and of Godolphin, whose son had become the duke's son-in-law. Rage at the preference shown to her poor relation and nominee for a Household place overcame such slight tact and prudence as the duchess may have possessed. She played Harley's game for him. "Mrs Morley" was browbeaten and called upon to dismiss the one attendant who had become agreeable to her. No wonder that at length the Queen forbade her door to the duchess, who, however, in this month of April, 1710, clamoured for and at last obtained an interview, during which she raved, and the Queen maintained an irritating silence.

The two never met again, and Harley, having thus got rid of the Whig woman, turned his attention to the Whig men. In June, the Secretaryship of State is taken from Sunderland, another of Marlborough's sons-in-law. The duke is required to make army appointments utterly repugnant to him, and it was only after many threats of resignation that he at last consented to make Abigail's husband and brother brigadiers over the heads of senior and more capable officers. Left to himself, he probably might have resigned, but he was dissuaded by the general advice of his party at home and of the Allies abroad. He remained Captain-General even after Godolphin's dismissal from the Lord Treasurership in August. Work was then going on briskly at Blenheim, although the Treasury remittances were few and far between, and the men began to clamour for payment of arrears of wages and for material. On June 24th, Vanbrugh wrote to the



122.—THE SOUTH SIDE, FROM THE WEST.



123.—THE SOUTH AND WEST SIDES.



124.—THE EAST SIDE, FROM THE "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS."

tion of doing, being quite determined not to incur any financial responsibility on the duke's or her own behalf. Thus the letter bears the later endorsement in her hand, "instead of complying with him I stoped the works in 1710 till the Crown should direct money for it." But between the date of the letter and that of the stoppage of the works, three months later, Vanbrugh had made an appeal to Godolphin's successor at the Treasury, as he explains to the duke on September 22nd:

I thought to have gone to Blenheim ten days ago but have deferred it in daily hopes I might be able to say something to the Workmen about money who have by my threatenings as well as persuasions exerted this year to a great degree making an inconceivable progress with the Building. Such that had the Queen cleared what is now due, I don't believe but thirty thousand pounds more would complete all to Your Grace's Satisfaction. I am glad to find at last, there is a likelihood of this present Treasury's ordering money as usual. I have on this occasion informed them of one thing, which perhaps Your Grace may have forgot, that as soon as the model was made, I had it carried up into the Gallery at Kensington where the Queen and Prince considered it, asking all the questions needful to understand it thoroughly. But so far from making any exceptions that the queen entirely approved of it and was particularly pleased with the magnificent part, and expressed a great desire of having it finished soon. I have acquainted them that this model still remains in Kensington House: and that it has been followed in everything material. I think this ought to have a very great weight with them.

A week later he addressed the following letter to Harley:

S^r

Blenheim Sept. 30. 1710

Altho', in the carrying on this Building of Blenheim it has not been properly my business to Solicite the Money for it, but to take care of the Designe, the Execution & y^e Contracts I hope you will not blame me, if looking upon it, much more as an intended Monument of the Queens Glory than a private Habitation for the Duke Marlborough, I am so much concern'd for it on the former Account, as to represent to you, the Extreame Necessity there is, for some immediate Supply, purely to Close and terminate what has been carry'd on this Summer in such manner as may secure it, from receiving vast injurys by the Winter Rains and Frosts, For it is so long since any Mony has been Issu'd for this Worke that the Credit is extend'd beyond even the power of getting in a little Lime & Bricks to compleat some things at the very point of finishing, And boards to cover other parts that could not be quite got up this Season, I cannot help looking on this Building wth y^e tenderness of a sort of Child of my Owne, and therefore hope you will forgive me troubling you for its Preservation.

While the war continued and the Allies had to be considered, Harley had no wish to break with the duke, and therefore instructed Taylor—the Treasury official who had charge of the Blenheim account—to assure Vanbrugh that the Queen—

Altho', the condition of her Revenues, and the Arrears due to her Servants & Family are such, as will not at present Allow of what may be Necessary for carrying on that Worke so fast as she could Wish, Yet that her Majesty wou'd by no means, have what is so far Advanc'd left in a Condition to be injur'd by the Approaching Winter, and therefore Directs, that you do Imediatly send their Lordships an Acc^t of what Mony is Absolutly necessary for covering in so much of the said Worke, as you propose to finish before Winter, that Directions may be Given for Supplying the Same in the best Manner that may be.

Before receiving that gratifying reply Vanbrugh went to Blenheim, and there, on October 3rd, got news of the stoppage. Returning to Oxford, he at once wrote to the duke:

This morning Joynes and Bobart told me, they had recd a Letter from the Dutchess of Marlborough to put a Stop at once to all sorts of Work till your Grace came over, not suffering one Man to be employ'd a day longer. I told them there was

duchess that they were "a little frightened with the news of my Lord Sunderland," and he apprehends that this fear "is like to prove a great hindrance to the very hopeful progress this summer unless something be done to encourage 'em." He, therefore, suggests that she should give him "commission to declare to them that whatever happen'd you wou'd take care that they shou'd not suffer." This, however, was the very last thing that the duchess had any inten-

nothing more now to do in effect, but just what was Necessary towards Covering and Securing the Work which wou'd be done in a Week or ten days : And that there was so absolute a Necessity for it, that to leave off without it wou'd expose the whole Summers Work to unspeakable mischiefs : That there was likewise an nother reason not to Discharge all the People thus at one Stroke together, Which was That Altho' the principall Workmen who work by the great, Such as Masons, Carpenters &c wou'd perhaps have regard to the Promises made them that they shou'd lose nothing, and so not be disorderly ; Yet the Labourers, Carters, and other Country People, who us'd to be regularly paid, but were now in arrear, finding themselves disbanded in so Surprising a Manner without a farthing would certainly conclude their Money lost ; and finding themselves distress'd by what they ow'd to the People where they lodg'd &c. And numbers of them having their Familys and Homes at great distances in other Countys, twas very much to be fear'd such a general Meeting might happen, that the Building might feel the Effects of it ; which I told them I the more Apprehended, knowing there were people not far off who wou'd be glad to put 'em about it : And that they themselves as well as I, had for some days past observed 'em grown very Insolent, and in Appearance kept from meeting only by the Assurances we gave them from one day to another, that money was coming. But all I had to say was cut short by M^r. Joynes's Shewing me a Postscript my Lady Dutchess had added to her Letter, forbidding any regard to whatever I might say or do.

Your Grace won't blame me, if asham'd to continue there any Longer on such a foot ; as well as seeing it was not in my power to do your grace any farther Service ; I immediately came away.



125.—THE EAST SIDE AS IT IS.

Thus, while the duke was capturing Douai and the other fortresses, the possession of which would lay France open to invasion, he heard that his own house was likely to be sacked by labourers clamouring for their wage, and that the man he had left in command was in full flight. Fortunately, however, Mr. Travers—a senior Treasury official to Taylor, who was his deputy—arrived next morning with £500, “to satisfy the poorer and most distressed labourers, so that all passed quietly and no farther mischief happened to the building than what happened in the night, which was not very considerable,” as Vanbrugh wrote to the duke a week later, adding :

If the Treasury should order the money I have now asked for (which is the remainder of what was intended for this Year's service) there will then have been received in all two hundred thousand pounds and when this year's amounts are made up, there will remain due to the workmen &c about 30000£ more which is about 5000£ more than has usually been behind at the close of the preceding years. The completing of all the rest of the House Offices and Bridge I durst almost undertake for 30000£.

Following on Taylor's letter of October 3rd, some £7,000 were provided, and the “Building was cover'd up till next Summer,” when, on June 15th, Vanbrugh had a very successful interview

with Lord Treasurer Harley, to whom he had brought a "State of the Debt" and "Estimate of the Future charges." When asked if that estimate was sufficient and inclusive, Vanbrugh answered that :

there were many things left out, which I believed your Grace might think fit to do in times at your own Expence but I hoped the Sum I mentioned, might carry the Design as far, as I understood the Queen at first intended shou'd be done on a publick Consideration. I thought my Lord seem'd the better Satisfied with what I said, finding the Sum necessary to finish the Design, vastly less than (as I was told) he had been informed it wou'd be.

He was pleased soon after, to procure the Queen Sign Manual for £20000. And told me, he wou'd give a farther Supply, as soon as possible.

I acquainted the Chief Undertakers, with what had past at the Treasury ; upon which they went on with the Work, without insisting, that all the money then Issued, shou'd go in discharge of the Debt which otherwise, they wou'd have done.

This speculation was unfortunate, both for Vanbrugh and the undertakers, for, at the end of the year, Harley, with peace in sight, made up his mind to strike the final blow. A batch of a dozen new peers gave him in the Lords what he already had in the Commons, a majority for the acceptance of the terms embodied in the Treaty of Utrecht, unexpectedly favourable to France. Then an accusation of appropriating the public money was brought against the duke, as an excuse for his dismissal, on December 31st, 1711. Six months later the Queen gave explicit orders that no further payments—even to workmen in arrears of wage—were to be made on the Blenheim account. That summer Marlborough spent at his St. Albans estate of Holywell, where Godolphin, broken hearted and dying, joined him, and there passed away in September. Two months later Marlborough sailed for Ostend ; the duchess soon followed him, and they did not see England again until George I was King. In the interval, however, Vanbrugh still strove in the cause of Blenheim, but his further endeavours, instead of receiving the same sympathetic treatment as they did in 1710 and 1711, produced a result very disagreeable to himself. He was treated as his clients had been, being dismissed from his position of Comptroller of the Office of Works.

The disgrace of the duke and of his architect was not of long duration. On August 1st, 1714, Queen Anne died, and five days later the duke's coach passed through the gates of Marlborough House amid the cheers of the multitude. Once more he became Captain-General, and Vanbrugh, Comptroller of the Works. Moreover, the latter was introduced by Marlborough to the King, who dubbed him a knight—the first he created on arrival in his new kingdom.

These political conditions, however, did not at once favourably react upon the building operations at Blenheim. The position of the Marlboroughs was by no means what it had been five years before, when the Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman relations, although strained, still existed, and the Captain-General and Lord High Treasurer were all important. The latter was dead, and peace conditions minimised the importance of the former. The Whigs were so triumphant that there was room for sharp division and active caballing within their ranks. How little the underlings of Godolphin's time, now become the chiefs, were prepared to submit to any dictation from the duke and duchess is seen by the latter's growing anger towards Walpole and his associates. Thus, there was no particular eagerness for a rapid disentanglement of the formidable knot into which the Blenheim finances had been twisted since Queen Anne definitely ordered the works to stop in June, 1712. Before work could begin again it was essential to settle not only who was to provide the money for the purpose, but also who was responsible for the large sum still owing.

We have seen that Vanbrugh, eager to push forward his masterpiece, persuaded Strong and the other undertakers to employ the sum provided by Harley in continuation of the work, rather than in discharge of the debt. Thus, the complete stoppage of remittances in 1712 hit them hard and, quite naturally, they took legal advice as to how the money due to them was to be recovered. The financial position, as Vanbrugh wrote in May, 1714, to the duke, was that £220,000 in all had been received from the Treasury, that £42,000 was owing for work done, and that a further £25,000 had been asked for to complete "what was always supposed the Queen intended to do." Nothing would move Anne's Tory Government to provide a penny under the second or third heads. Indeed, they started the theory that there was no Act of Parliament or Royal Warrant that made the Queen responsible, and that Godolphin had acted not as High Treasurer, but as Marlborough's friend and agent when he appointed Vanbrugh, Joynes and Boulter surveyor and comptrollers of Blenheim, and authorised them to sign contracts not on behalf of the



126.—THE EAST SIDE, FROM THE ORANGERY TERRACE.

Queen, but of the duke. Strong's lawyers, therefore, advise him to sue the latter, and so he comes to see Vanbrugh, and begs him to "represent to your grace with how much reluctance he took this course to prevent the loss of so great a Sum as he sees he and his family are not able to bear." Vanbrugh objected to his taking such a course, and showed him Taylor's letter, which clearly indicated the Queen's responsibility. Thus matters stood when George I became King and Harley was impeached. The Crown would, surely, now pay the Blenheim debts in full. That was all that Marlborough really urged; the completion he was not unprepared to carry out on his own account. But even this was much more than he got. Only about a third of what they claimed was paid by the Treasury to Strong and his fellows, who ultimately instituted a suit against Marlborough.

Before that happened Blenheim had made some progress, for we hear of a good deal of work done and doing in 1716. The £20,000 promised by Harley in 1711 had taken the shape of weekly payments of £1,000 each. But as this only began in the August of that year, Vanbrugh did not expect, after closing down for the winter, to do more as regards the exterior than finish the paving of the great court and the steps up to the porticoes on the north and south fronts. The great



127.—THE ORANGERY.

arch of the bridge was, no doubt, complete, but not the elaborate upper works, the plan for which aroused the duchess's powers of sarcasm. Inside, however, Vanbrugh hoped that the paving would be done (as, for instance, the marble floors of hall and saloon), and "all other things to make the east end of the house ready for furniture." The furnishing had, for some time, been occupying the attention of both duke and duchess. In August, 1708, the latter had written to Lord Manchester—on Embassy in Venice—asking him to obtain for her velvets, damask and satins, for walls and bed-hangings, to the extent of 3,200yds., adding, "I believe I shall be forced to trouble you again for a vast deal I shall want to furnish that house." A few months earlier the duke had written to her from Brussels:

I have been to see the hangings for your apartment and mine; as much as are done of them, I think are very fine; I shall not send them over until the winter, unless you desire them. I should be glad at your leisure you would be providing every thing that may be necessary for furnishing those two apartments; and that you would direct Vanbrugh to finish the breaks between the windows in the great cabinet with looking glass, for I am resolved to furnish the room with the finest pictures I can get.

Eighteen months earlier he already had his eye on the Blenheim gallery, and told the duchess:

I am so fond of some pictures I shall bring with me, that I could wish you had a place for them till the Gallery at Woodstock be finished; for it is certain there are not in England so fine pictures as some of these. particularly

King Charles on horseback,
done by Vandyke.

Under the Commonwealth this picture had been sold for a small sum and had crossed the Channel. Marlborough came across it at Munich, and thus it found its way back to England. Some years, however, must have elapsed before it was hung in what is now called the Red Drawing-room, where it remained until acquired by the nation and transferred to the National Gallery some forty years ago.

Despite all these preparations, it is doubtful whether the duke and duchess occupied the Bow-window Room and hung their chambers with tapestries before they found it prudent to leave England in the autumn of 1712. The duke preceded the duchess, and his letter to her from Brussels again refers to tapestries. He begs her, on arrival there, to go to De Vost's workshops and see how she liked the sets that he still had in hand. They will have been those depicting Marlborough's later actions—Oudenarde, Malplaquet and the March to Bouchain that all hang in the rooms of the southern suite. But those mentioned in the 1708 letter may well have included the big piece of the battle of Blenheim, which is in the eastern suite. Thus, Mr. Reid tells us in his "John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough":

De Vost's masterpiece enriches the walls of the



128.—THE EAST PARTERRE.



129.—THE EAST END OF THE PARTERRE.



130.—THE ORANGERY TERRACE.

bow-window room, where Marlborough in old age used to sit and watch the plays given for his entertainment by his grandchildren and friends. This favourite room of the first Duke and Duchess is comparatively small, and the glorious tapestry, in consequence, representing the battle which gave occasion for the house, is placed at a disadvantage, since it extends across two walls at right angles, but the Duchess determined its position, and it has never been changed. She wished the tapestry that represented the battle which made the Duke immortal to decorate the room where she constantly sat. The story runs that a French officer who visited Blenheim generations ago, enraged at the account which was given him, on the spot, of Marlborough's historic victory, flashed out his sword and slashed at the picture. It was skillfully repaired, and bears no traces to-day of that act of vandalism.

Next door, in the duchess's bedroom, her portrait is set over the chimneypiece, and on the walls hang part of a great classic set of tapestries of the Triumphs of Cæsar. Much as they are now, we may picture the duke and duchess occupying these rooms when they reached Blenheim in the autumn of 1716. The place was then still very far from completion, if we are to believe the querulous letter written by the duchess to her friend Mrs. Clayton complaining that—

We have yet nothing like a habitation, without any aggravation, there is a vast deal more to do than is done ; the finishing that is done is but a trifle, and there is a great many thousand pounds wanting yet to complete what is called only the shell ; besides all without doors, where there is nothing done, and is a chaos that turns one's brains but to think of it.

Nearly the whole of the main building had been " covered " by 1712, but the pavilions at the ends of the west elevation had not got their coronas, or " towers," even in April, 1716, when we find Strong raising difficulties about erecting them. Before the question of the debts could be settled by Parliament and Treasury full accounts had to be prepared, and as late as May, 1715, we find Vanbrugh telling Joynes that the delay in sending them in is making the duke " very impatient," for it is not " thought advisable to Stir for money till the Acc^t is deliver'd in compleat." Thus, nothing could be done at Blenheim that year, and it is April, 1716, before Vanbrugh writes to Joynes that—

it wou'd not be amiss (to gain time) if you talk'd a little with the severall Quarry Men, of Cornbury & Burford, Hiddington &c. to see on what Terms they will furnish Stone having their money paid weekly or Monthly as they please.

The now very wealthy duke could offer cash payments, and they were used as a lever for forcing lower terms into the new contracts that were being obtained this spring. Strong, however, was out for back payments before undertaking new work, so that any terms that he proposed were unacceptable to the duke. Thus, the season wears on, and the " towers " remain unfinished until Strong's foreman Kit Cash—whose name appears in the Vanbrugh-Joyes correspondence of Queen Anne's time—proposes to set up for himself, having Banks's foreman, Fletcher, as his partner. If they can get the Blenheim job, it will be a grand opening for them, and worth offering such low rates as would tempt even the duchess. Vanbrugh had been trying all round for better terms than he could get out of Strong, who could not be squeezed, having " so great business here in town." The Townsends at Oxford, and the masons who had been building Heythrop for the Duke of Shrewsbury were approached, and by picking out what each one of them offered to do most cheaply, Vanbrugh got out a " scheme " of prices " under what Mr Strong will go to by 20 p^r c^t." The trouble is that the Oxfordshire and other local masons " are not held to near so good work as will be expected from them at Blenheim," hence the value of the proposal of Kit Cash, who could perform as skilfully as Strong.

Through the month of May it is to the Duke that Vanbrugh writes, but on the 28th of that month the former had a stroke. The recent loss of two daughters—Lady Bridgewater in March and Lady Sunderland in April—had pressed heavily on his spirits. Lady Sunderland, especially, had been a favourite not only with him, but with the duchess, who, although often on bad terms with her other daughters, is said never to have quarrelled with the one described by Coxe as combining in exceptional degree beauty of person, quickness of mind and suavity of temperament. The duke, for a long time, had been alluding to his great age, although he was only sixty-six. Then he complained of headaches and giddiness, and now, while in sad retirement at Holywell House, he was struck down, as Coxe tells us, " with such violence that he was deprived of speech and sense, but was speedily relieved by the medical aid of his devoted friend Sir Samuel Garth " (page xxiv). The duke recovered enough to go to Bath in July, and thence, in October, to Blenheim. But he could transact little business, and so it is with the duchess that Vanbrugh has now again to deal, as before, during the Queen Anne campaigns. Peace did not continue long between them. The first sentence of Vanbrugh's letter to the duchess of June 12th, 1716, implies strained relations. He explains that, although he has " no sort of concern " on his own



131.—VANBRUGH'S BRIDGE AS IT IS.

account to urge on the Blenheim work, yet he begs to remind her that the building season is slipping away and nothing is settled about the towers; which, as she must be aware, "my Lord Duke had been most anxious to see done." He, therefore, encloses a contract "drawn as you directed," and suggests that her Grace should write at the bottom of it, "The Duke of Marlborough is willing that John Vanbrugh should agree with the Massons and set them to work upon the Towers at Blenheim according to this Scheme of Prices and conditions." As a postscript he informs her that—

The Mason's nam'd in this contract are the two chief Foremen, employ'd by M^r Strong and Bankes during their work at Blenheim. I observ'd them to be incomparable Servants to them, which made me very glad to find them dispos'd to begin work for themselves. And as they are worth but little money yet, they are not in way of living so high as to make great gains necessary for their support. On the contrary, they are saving humble and diligent and purpose by doing something well at Blenheim at low rates, to work themselves into Credit. So that upon the whole, I think it very happy one can engage them. But if your Grace does not think fit to employ them, either now or at all; M^r Strong's man Cash begs it may not be known he had any thoughts of leaving his master to set up for himself.

Although the duchess afterwards describes the engagement of Cash as "a Trick in proposing Strong's foreman to do the work because he thought it dangerous to take lower prices in his own name," yet the job is put in hand, and the exterior of the main block to the west was completed this season.

As regards the base-court, Vanbrugh wrote to the duchess on June 30th :

As your Grace seems very desirous to have the house made habitable as soon as may be, I shou'd put you in mind of the offices which I've Uncover'd in the kitchen court which being the bakehouse Landry, Warehouse,



132.—VANBRUGH'S BRIDGE AS DESIGNED.



133.—HOUSE, BRIDGE, PARK AND WATER AS VANBRUGH LEFT THEM.



134.—HOUSE, BRIDGE, PARK AND WATER AS LANCELOT BROWN ALTERED THEM.

and gate, upon which the cistern must stand from whence all the Water must come to the several parts of the House; it will be impossible to live in it, till these things are done of which the expence is not very great; as your Grace may see in the Estimate my Lord Duke has by him. I should acquaint you farther Madam, that the Masonry of these offices has received very great damage by lying thus open. If you please to have them finish'd I wou'd do them with the most ordinary Oxford stone which both by the material and work will very much lessen the charge; and indeed throughout the whole work to come, I hope to manage that great article of the Masonry, in such a manner as to bring it within near half what it formerly amounted to. I dont mean so much by the Prices (tho that will be considerable) as by sparing in the quantity and making use of cheap sorts of stone in proper places, where the difference wont be distinguished and the strength and duration the same. If your Grace asks, why this was not done formerly; I can only answer, that I have now better experience, for I did as well as I cou'd before, and as well as those I had to assist me cou'd advise.—I have not yet talk'd with the Marble Masons, but shall on Monday, and will then give your Grace a plainer account of their proposals.

Next, in order to arouse her interest, if not her approbation, he launches out on a panegyric on Blenheim:

The beauty of this place at this time is hardly to be conceived, which all strangers and Passengers will be ten times more sensible of when the house is inhabited than now; for besides the *additional* beauty of the Furniture, they will then comprehend the cast and turn of the House with the conveniencys which they are now quite ignorant of and see all with confusion. I hope (and most heartily wish) the Bath, will so thoroughly reestablish my Lord Duke, that he may enjoy the place in the latter season as he returns, when I hope he will see a great deal done to his satisfaction. I believe he will like to know, that M^r Thornhill goes on a pace in the Hall; and has begun with a better Spirit in his paintings than anything I have seen of his doing before. I hope he'll continue it. I know he piques himself upon appearing well at Blenheim.

Finally, as a postscript, he asks permission to go on with the bridge, and, as a sop to make that pill acceptable, he concludes:

The Kitchen Garden now the trees are in full vigour and full of fruit, is really an astonishing sight. All I ever saw in England or abroad of the kind, are trifles to it.

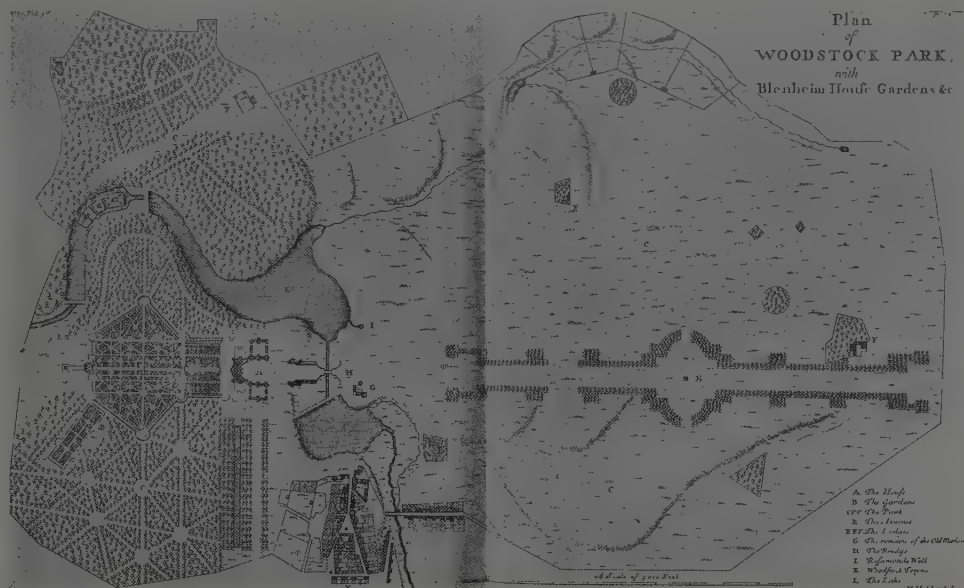
The activity of the correspondence between Vanbrugh and the duchess during the summer betrays the architect's keen anxiety to placate his formidable client. He is at pains to carry out her wishes where possible, and when she complains of sins of commission or omission, he assures her that he has done nothing but what had been spoken about and settled, nothing whatever having been kept back from her. In almost every letter he paints the scene *couleur de rose*. Everything is certain to please her ultimately. Even, as he playfully remarks:

that frightful Bridge, will I believe at last be kinder look'd upon if it be found (instead of twelve thousand pounds more) not to cost above three; and I will venture my whole prophetick skill, on this one Point, That if I liv'd to see

that extravagant project compleat, I shall have the satisfaction to see your Grace fonder of it, than of any part whatsoever of the House, Gardens or Park; I don't speak of the Magnificence of it, but the agreeableness which I do assure you Madam has had the first place in my thoughts and contrivance about it: which I have said little of hitherto; because I know it wont be understood till tis seen; and then every body will say, *t'was the best money laid out in the whole design* And if at last, there is a house found in that *Bridge your Grace will go and live in it.*

The kitchen court was being completed by Townsend at reasonable cost, and in July Vanbrugh found it "look'd fine and great only from the Manner of Building" and not because it was elaborate or wasteful of space. In the completion of it and all other "inferior buildings" he will have in mind "the ancient simplicity of the Ancient Mannor" which, it appears, had escaped the total destruction ordered in 1709, and which now comes up again in rather an awkward manner.

The duchess tells Vanbrugh that he may use the "Park baily's" lodge, whereupon he has to confess that he had left it three years before, having, after the departure of the Marlboroughs abroad, obtained leave of their son-in-law, the second Earl Godolphin, to "lie" in the old Manor House, the demolition of which had, before that, been arrested, together with all other Blenheim work. He has made it habitable at his own expense, asks for no outlay, and will give it up at once if her Grace "has any reason against his being there." Let her, however, be certain that he has "no underhand projects or fancies of his own to execute in that or any other part of the work." That she should write to him with plainness he likes well enough, but not that she should be "heated by wrong informations and misconceptions." He feels certain that when they meet at Blenheim in the autumn—the Marlboroughs coming up from Bath and Vanbrugh coming down from Scarborough—all will be well. No doubt he had the more reason to hope for this since the duchess was, at this very time, using him as go-between in the negotiations for the proposed wedding between the Duke of Newcastle and her granddaughter, Henrietta Godolphin. But when he sees her at Blenheim she never mentions that subject. Although surprised, he thinks it best to hold his tongue about it, and to concentrate upon Blenheim matters, which he—with Hawksmoor also there to help—seems to get through pleasantly enough, and goes away fancying the duchess is satisfied. He is no sooner back in London, however, before he discovers that the duchess's silence as to the Newcastle alliance arose from her having dropped Vanbrugh and entrusted the negotiations to another. Before long, moreover,



135.—VANBRUGH'S LAY-OUT OF GARDENS AND PARK.



136.—LANCELOT BROWN'S ALTERATIONS TO GARDENS AND PARK.

he finds that the duchess, far from being pleased with his conduct at Blenheim, has sent to her lawyer, Richards, various papers strongly impugning many of Vanbrugh's actions. Always outspoken, his indignation is now aroused, and he writes this scathing letter from Whitehall on November 8th, which the duchess docketed "very impertinent":

Madam

When I writ to your Grace on Tuesday last I was much at a loss, what cou'd be the ground of your having drop't me in the service I had been endeavouring to do you and your family with the Duke of Newcastle, Upon your own sole motion and desire. But having since been shewn by M^r Richards a large packet of building papers sent him by your Grace, I find the reason was, That you had resolv'd to use me so ill in respect of Blenheim, as must make it Impracticable to employ me in any other Branch of your Service. These Papers Madam are so full of *Far-fetched, Labour'd Accusations, Mistaken Facts, Wrong Interferences, Groundless Jealousies and strain'd Constructions: That I shou'd put a very great affront upon your understanding if I suppos'd it possible you cou'd mean any thing in earnest by them; but to put a stop to my troubling you any more. You have your end Madam, for I will never trouble you more Unless the Duke of Marlborough recovers so far, to shelter me from such intolerable Treatment.*

I shall in the mean time have only this Concern on his account (for whom I shall ever retain the greatest Veneration) That your Grace having like the Queen thought fit to get rid of a faithfull servant, The Torys will have the pleasure to see your Glassmaker, Moor, make just such an end of the Dukes Building as her Minister Harley did of his Victories for which it was erected.

I am

Your Graces most obedient Ser^t

J VANBRUGH

If your Grace will give me leave to print your paper I'll do it exactly; and without any answer or remark *but this short letter tack'd to the tail of them, That the world may know I desir'd they might be published.*

Unaccustomed, no doubt, to such plain speaking, the duchess made Blenheim re-echo with her objurgations, thus destroying the atmosphere of calm that was essential to her stricken husband. Two days later he had a more severe paralytic attack than that of May. Garth hastened down, and, when he had to return to town, left his patient in charge of Dr. Luther, Oxford's most capable physician. After a few days' treatment, the latter is reassuring; "steel wine" and a little dieting will do wonders, combined with a one o'clock dinner of plain food and very little fruit "whose juices are too cold for the stomach." The patient "must forbear all manner of meat at night, and ought rather to eat broth made of an old cock bruised to pieces, bones and all." When the duke had in a measure recovered, he was moved to London, but the troubles of Blenheim followed him there, for there were not only architectural squabbles, but law cases. Early in 1718 Strong—perhaps irritated by the employment of his foreman, Cash—instituted a suit in the Court of Exchequer against the duke, Vanbrugh being also a defendant as the duke's agent appointed under the Godolphin warrant. Strong and those with him were successful; but the case was carried to the House of Lords and, after that, got into the Court of Chancery. On behalf of the sick duke, but, no doubt, on the duchess's initiative, all sorts of points were raised as to the accounts, and there was even a denial that the duke had ever been made aware of the Godolphin warrant, and that, therefore, he had never really appointed Vanbrugh, who was thus responsible for the debts. These matters had not been cleared up even when the duke died in 1722. Some time before that event—that is, in February, 1721—Vanbrugh had written to Carlisle as to the way he was being treated by the Marlboroughs. He tells him that—

Her Grace has written a villainous letter of me to the Treasury (wch they dont mind) relating to Blenheim; to show 'twas I drew my Lord Marl: into that great expence.

And then goes on to relate, with reference to the case, that—

I hear she is now quarrelling with Peter Walters, finding the suit with Strong the mason is like to go against her She has played such tricks in that affair that her own Lawyers are quite ass'hamed of the part she puts them upon, and I believe this day Senight, will go near to give her up. She now talks she'll bring it into the house of Lords. I wonder her family dont agree to lock her up.

Though stricken in body and mind, Coxe records that the duke did make an appearance in the House of Lords as late as the November of that year; but in the following June he died at Windsor Lodge. That and Holywell House had continued to be preferred as homes to the huge and unfinished Blenheim, but he was there occasionally, and Coxe gives us an interesting picture of a domestic occurrence in its east wing. The grandparents had taken charge of the motherless Bridgewater and Sunderland girls, and among other entertainments for them there was play-acting. Dryden's "All For Love" was performed for the amusement of the sick duke.

Two Spencer and one Egerton girl were in the cast, which, besides "Captain Fish (the page to the duchess)" and "Old Mr. Jennings," included Miss Cairnes, afterwards Lady Blayney and writer of various reminiscent letters to the wife of the third Duke of Marlborough. In one of these, preserved at Blenheim and quoted by Coxe, she gives the full cast of "All For Love," followed by the note, "Scene, the Bow-window Room. Great Screens for changing Scenes." Bishop Hoadley wrote the prologue, addressed by its speaker to the duke and lauding his actions :

This heap of stones, which Blenheim's palace frame,
Rose in this form a mon'ment to thy name.

It was, about now, visited by Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, who, as a Non-Juror, hated the Whigs and all their deeds. So he calls Blenheim "grand but a sad, irregular piece of work. The Architect (if a Blockhead may deserve that Name) was Vanbrug." But he admits that the "Hall is noble," and that the bridge "is wonderfull, particularly upon account of the Arch, the biggest, at least one of the biggest, in the world, and hath a show of Antiquity."



137.—THE HALL, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

That was in 1717, and two years later he is again there and thinks Thornhill's ceiling "exquisite," but the "Frenchman's" saloon is "daubed with abundance of Persons of different countries" to please "Buffoons," and ought to have represented the "History of Rosamond."

On the duke's death the immensity of his wealth, long suspected, became known, and Vanbrugh, from London, wrote to Carlisle in Yorkshire on June 19th :

I have only time tonight to acquaint your Lordship with a few particulars I have learnt of what my Lord Marlborough has left, which is more than the most extravagant believers ever named. The Treasury, a little before he died, found he had a full million rolling in the Government, on loans, &c., besides his Stocks, his 99 years' annuities, not subscribed in, his land, his Posthouse 5,000l. a year, his mortgages, and God knows what he may have besides in foreign banks.

He has left his widow (I wish some ensign had her) 10,000l. a year, to spoil Blenheim her own way ; 12,000l. a year more to keep herself clean, and plague folks at law with.

Vanbrugh had already developed the idea of including monumental mausoleums among the "outworks" of the great country palaces that he was erecting, and after his death the idea, as



138.—THE SOUTH END OF THE HALL AND THE SOUTH-EAST CORRIDOR.

we have seen (page 55), was carried out at Castle Howard. On Marlborough's death he strove for such an adjunct to Blenheim, and Godolphin, the son-in-law, being an executor, he approached him, ineffectually, as another letter to Carlisle shows :

I believe my Lord Godolphin would have liked very well to have had the Duke of Marlborough buried in the park, with a very good monument over him ; but the Duke directs in his will that they should bury him in the chapel at Blenheim. Here is a pompous funeral preparing, but curbed and crippled by her Grace, who will govern it by her fancies, amongst which there is but one good one, and that is, that she'll pay for it. I don't

know whether it won't cost her ten thousand pounds. What a noble monument would that have made, whereas this idle show will be gone in half an hour, and forgot in two days. The other would have been a show, and a noble one, to many future ages.

For the monument that the duke had willed, the duchess employed Rysbrach, as we shall see in the chapel.

The work at Blenheim, restarted under Vanbrugh in 1716, had, since that year, gone on steadily without him. Much, however, remained unfinished when the duke died, and he, therefore, left to his widow the sum of £50,000 for the work of completion. The chapel (Fig. 109 c)—approached through the western colonnade or piazza—was the last exterior feature undertaken by the duchess as part of the house itself. As regards "outworks," she not only finished what Vanbrugh had begun—even the bridge and causeway—but added such objects as the column in the great north avenue, and the archway to the approach from Woodstock town. The former, of the Doric order, 130ft. high, sustains a statue of the duke of heroic size in Roman garb. On the four sides of the plinth we find a recital of his deeds and of the Acts of Parliament which conferred the estates upon him. The archway is Corinthian, and tells us that it "was built the year after the death of the most illustrious John, Duke of Marlborough, by order of Sarah, his most beloved wife": 1723 is the date of archway, chapel, monument and column. It may, therefore, be taken as the time when the duchess had reduced the "chaos" she had complained of, to something like order. Vanbrugh was very keen to see how his great scheme had worked out and to show it to his wife and to his friend Carlisle. The party, including also Carlisle's daughters, set out from London in the summer of 1725. Visiting Shotover (page 247) and Oxford, they passed on to the



139.—THE SIDE ARCADING OF THE HALL.



140.—THE STAIRCASE ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE HALL.



141.—THE SOUTH CORRIDOR, LOOKING WEST.

ducal territory, and, as Vanbrugh afterwards wrote to Tonson :

Stay'd Two Nights in Woodstock, My Lord and the Ladys, having a Mind to view Blenheim in every part with leisure. But for my own Share, There was an Order to the Servants, under her Graces own hand not to let me enter any where. And lest that shou'd not mortify me enough, She having some how learn'd, that my Wife was of the Company sent an exprels the Night before we came there with orders, if she came with the Castle Howard Ladys, the Servants shou'd not Suffer her to see either Houfe, Gardens, or even to enter the Park which was obey'd Accordingly, and She was forc'd to Sitt all day and keep me Company at the Inn.

As this public insult was followed by further attempts to make Vanbrugh responsible for the Blenheim debts, we are not surprised that his feelings towards the lady are expressed in his next letter to Tonson by setting the second letter of the alphabet five times repeated before her name. She, however,

was well able to retaliate in strong language of her own, and in her explanation to Lord Carlisle of her act in forbidding half his party to cross her gateway, she deprived Vanbrugh of the least rag of character :

July the 1st 1725.

My Lord.

I shall allways take it for a Great honour when ever your Lordship will give yourself the trouble to see anything that belongs to me, but it is a great while since I have given directions to all my servants never to suffer S^r John Vanbrugh to come into my house or park. I should not do this upon the worthlefnefs of his Character nor for any of the Abuses in ye building occasioned by him, but in the Life of the Duke of Marlborough he had the impudence to print a Libel both of him and me for which his bones ought to have been broke, but I do not think it worth the trouble of giving any directions about such a fellow, who by it added to the contempt every body had for him before and did not hurt me, besides this his behaviour was so saucy to me both in his letters and every thing that he said to me and of me that one should wonder at any other person after such proceedings should desire to come within my walls ; I am sure your Lord^{sh} would not suffer such a one to come within yours if there were any person capable of such a behaviour as Sir John had had to me and therefore I am confident that you have either never heard of it or forget it. I will make no apology for making use of my Grand Daughters hand because you will read it with more ease. I heartily wish that your Lordship might have that in every thing.

I am with the Greatest respect imaginab^{le}

Your Lordships
most obedient and
most humble servant
S. Marlborough.

With this episode the curtain falls upon the stirring drama of the quarrels of the duchess and her architect. A few more months and he was dead, but she lived on during eighteen more

years of antagonisms and complaints. It was, probably, one of the salves of her uneasy old age that, by thus living on, she was keeping out of his inheritance her much disliked grandson, who, in 1733, became the third holder of the dukedom. By a settlement, confirmed by Act of Parliament, Duke John's title—his male issue being extinct—was to pass to his eldest daughter and her male issue, failing which, to the other daughters and their male issue in succession. Thus, it came about that it was the widowed Lady Godolphin who, in 1722, became the second holder of the dukedom. Before her death, eleven years later, her son, the second earl, had passed away, and so the succession passed to Lady Sunderland's elder surviving son, the fifth Earl of Sunderland becoming the third Duke of Marlborough. Although even the settled estates, such as Woodstock, were the old duchess's for life, yet, by the settlement, the new duke had to hand over Althorp to his younger brother, John, and thus had no inherited seat until Blenheim became his in 1744. In the previous year he had fought at Dettingen, and, when the Seven Years' War broke out, he was given an important command, and would have been at Minden in 1758, had he not died soon after reaching Germany. His son George was then a lad of twenty, and, as he lived to approach octogenarian age, he held the estates for nearly sixty years. It was under him that certain George III changes were made to the interior of the palace, which we will now enter.

Allowing that Vanbrugh's first aim was to get an exterior which fulfilled his notions of grandeur and good grouping, and that the interior planning of the house was a secondary consideration, it will be found that the general disposition of apartments offers very considerable convenience. Of course, it accords with the habits of the day. A kitchen a hundred yards away from the dining-room, and a long suite of State apartments opening out of each other, and occupying the best position and sunniest aspect, were considered perfectly satisfactory throughout the eighteenth century. Talman at Chatsworth, Campbell at Houghton, Kent at Holkham, Paine at Nostell planned thus in common with Vanbrugh, and Blenheim compares very favourably with other great Palladian houses in the matter of its internal arrangement. Sir Reginald Blomfield is somewhat over-critical in complaining of the absence of fine rooms and the presence of ill lighted ones. The desired elevation has been obtained with less sacrifice of the kind than might have been expected. The hall, saloon and long gallery are all of very great size, and of admirable proportions, and they are well windowed. Of the seven lesser rooms included in the south front, four are each 35ft. long and of adequate width, and it is rather a relief to find oneself occasionally in a room not much more than 20ft. square. There are, necessarily, two little inner courts to the main block which light certain corridors and subsidiary apartments, and the segmental arrangement of the spaces between the portico and the wings on the north side causes some obscurity and lost space. Apart from that, no fault can be found with the aspect and lighting even of the bedrooms (a very secondary consideration at the time), for there has been no desire here to hide their windows away, as at Stowe, in order to give a more temple-like appearance to the principal façades. Moreover, the galleries, or corridors, stretching out in pairs on either side of the great central hall, give ready access and private entry to almost every apartment. If we regret, externally, the absence of such a feature as the central dome at Castle Howard, internally the hall profits. The Castle Howard hall is very high for its size—the eye loses itself in the far-off recesses of the dome. The flat ceiling at Blenheim, though 67ft. from the floor, is much more pleasant, and the height is less than the total length of the room. The chief lighting is by a clerestory of arched windows just below the ceiling, the whole expanse of which is covered by Sir James Thornhill's great painting, and is brilliantly lighted. Here we see the duke, in classic garb of rich blue, pointing to a chart of the Battle of Blenheim as he kneels to the Goddess of Victory, who holds out to him a laurel crown. The hall, with its side arcading (Fig. 139), its long offshoots and south extension, is an exceedingly successful composition; while Vanbrugh's love of great size in details is seen by the enormous fluted columns which rise at the four corners and support the great entablature on which the clerestory rests.

We may appreciate the scale of the whole by climbing up one of the spiral stairs that Vanbrugh introduced into the massive north corners of the hall building. We come out level with the top of the entablature cornice, and find it a sort of footway projecting a yard. This entablature runs round an oblong of about 42ft. by 60ft. That, however, is not the whole hall space, for it continues southward another 15ft. through the great arched opening, which is nearly



142.—THE SALOON, LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

30ft. wide (Fig. 137). Nor is the vision limited in its range by the width of the hall, for, as at Castle Howard, it is carried through arches into the staircase spaces, and also along the vaulted corridors (Fig. 141). Of these, it is the pair at the north end of the hall that produce the greater impression, for they stretch out on either side of the hall till they reach the great doorways of the gallery on the west, and of the Bow-window Room on the east. That gives a length of about 250ft., but if the doorways at the end are open, the vista is further extended by 100ft.

Through the great south archway of the hall, and below the iron-balustered gallery, which here, as at Castle Howard, gives communication from east to west on the upper floor, is the great

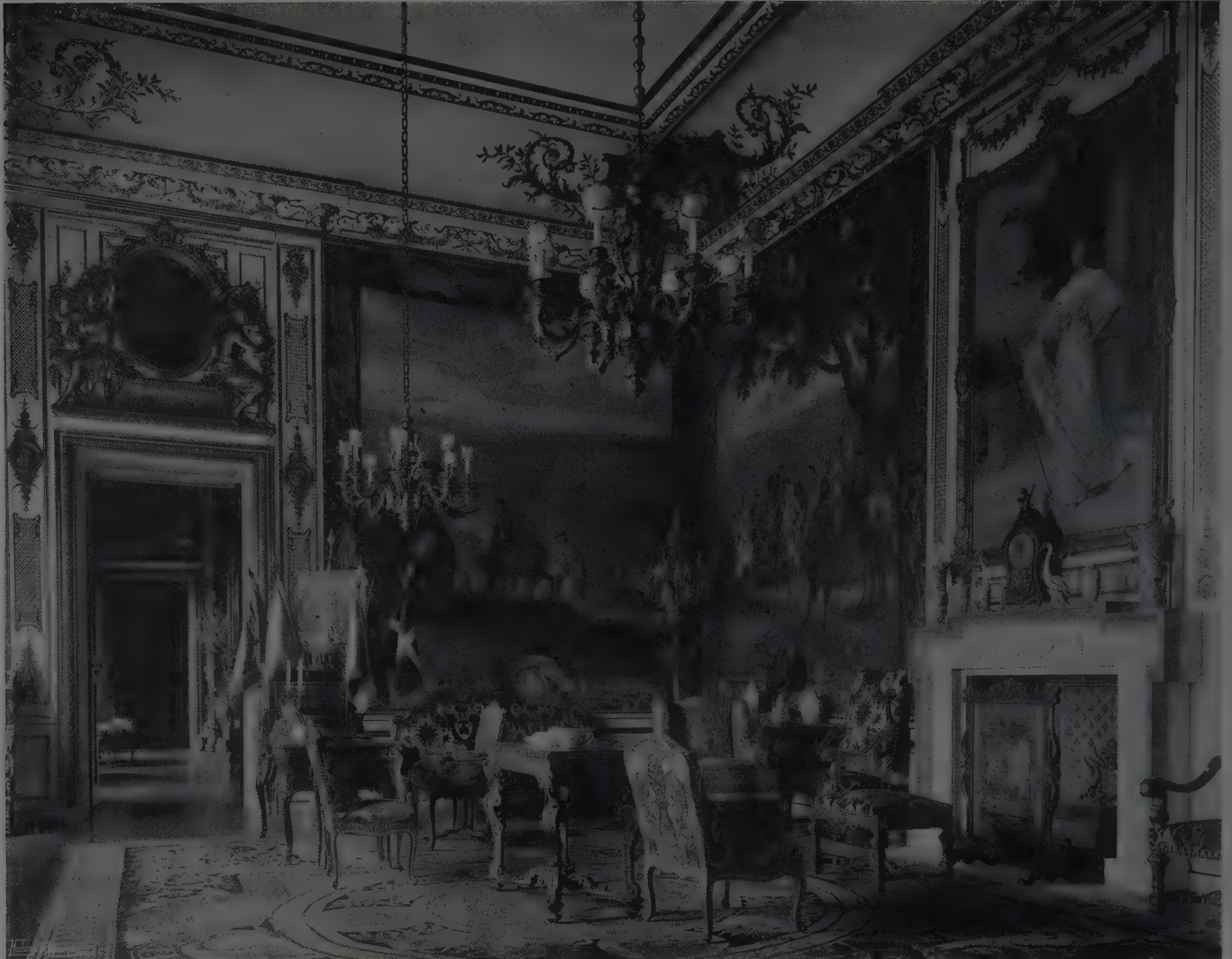


143.—THE SALOON, LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

marble doorway to the saloon, and over it, flanked by flags, is a bust of the duke, who, as the inscription tells us, "Shook the Gallic, Fix'd the Austrian Throne." Above the bust are seen (Fig. 138) the projecting consoles that support the gallery, of which the back wall is arcaded and decorated with plaster festoons that encircle bas-reliefs of the duke and duchess on either side of the Royal crown, below which hangs a full-length picture of Queen Anne. Despite their dismissal and curt treatment, the duke and duchess ever did honour to the Queen. A marble statue of her in her coronation robes was placed in the Long Gallery, having been, like the chapel

monument, executed by Rysbrach. Passing from the hall, we find ourselves in one of those large painted apartments which were then fashionable in the palaces of the great. It is the work of Laguerre, Verrio's ablest coadjutor, with whom he had worked at Chatsworth and elsewhere. The scheme of the Blenheim saloon is of the very best of its kind (Fig. 142). On the ceiling the customary great allegorical cloud picture spreads itself out, and is described in the eighteenth-century "Description of Blenheim" as "Emblematically representing John Duke of Marlborough in the career of victory, arrested by the hand of Peace"—an ethereal way of glossing over the events which led to the Treaty of Utrecht.

The walls are treated architecturally, and thus the sense of confusion and oppression produced by an infinite number of figures of heroic size is avoided. There is represented a temple-like structure through the openings of whose peristyle (Fig. 143) natives of all nations look down, just as



144.—THE FIRST STATE ROOM.

It is the west ante-chamber of the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plan, Fig. 110.

Speaker Foley and Sir James Thornhill do at Stoke Edith. There are six of these compartments, four of which show so well in the accompanying illustrations that Spaniards, Moors, Chinese and Turks may, in each case, be recognised. In the first of the series—too near the south and windowed side of the room to be successfully photographed—Laguerre introduced a portrait of himself to typify France, while "the Portrait of the Englishman, which possesses much rubicundity and portliness, is believed to represent Dean Jones, Chaplain to Sarah Duchess of Marlborough."

These great figure subjects, with their framing columns, are represented as resting on a base painted in imitation of marble, with swags in the panels, and below this we find a scheme of real marbles, much as Vanbrugh had indicated to the duchess in 1709 (page 84). There is a rusticated dado of marble, veined red and white. Its rail is of the same marble as the chimneypieces that are placed on either side of the doorway in from the hall. They

are of a type—much used by Vanbrugh—with a projecting fire-arch having doubly-broken architraves, such as John Webb had favoured for wooden doorways half a century earlier. The projection is sufficient to make the top an ample shelf for busts or vases. We shall meet with others at Blenheim, and they occur elsewhere in houses designed by Vanbrugh, as well as occasionally in others which may have felt his influence, such as Chevening, where the first Earl Stanhope placed one in his saloon. The Blenheim saloon chimneypieces are of a marble with both red and green splashes, and form a sort of link between the dado and the door-cases, the latter having a prevailing green tone. They are set in the centre of each side of the room, and their projection, added to the wall thickness, admits of their semicircular arches, topped by huge shells, forming deep recesses within which the door-cases proper stand, the tympana above them



145.—THE SECOND STATE ROOM.

It is the west drawing-room of the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plan.

being occupied by shield and double eagle, recording that the duke was a prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

East and west the saloon opens into the great south range of ceremonial rooms, and here, through double doorways, another 300ft. vista is obtainable. Exactly how they were finished by Vanbrugh, and hung and furnished by the duchess, we do not know, for there is no earlier "Description" than that already quoted, first published in 1789 and re-issued in 1806. Its author, William Mavor, was a voluminous writer of educational works, who taught the fourth duke's children before he took Orders and obtained Church preferment from his patron. He became Rector of Woodstock, and it is rather disappointing that, as he lived near by during most of half a century and must have seen exactly what went on, he does not give us more exact information of the changes that were made during that time. Such as it is, however, we get a picture of what Blenheim was like after Sir William Chambers had been employed by the fourth duke.

Mavor first introduces us to the Bow-window Room, where we have already noted the de Vost tapestry of the Battle of Blenheim—the taking of Marshal Tallard being the chief incident shown. Here, also, are the tapestry of the Wynendael action and various pictures of the Italian school, together with family portraits. Mavor then takes us to the “Grand Cabinet” especially devoted to the series of fine Rubens’ canvases for which Blenheim was famous. The room is a square of about 24ft., lit by three windows on both east and south sides. Each will have been treated, as regards hangings and inter-fenestral mirrors, in late eighteenth-century manner. The ceiling, however, with its enrichment and coves, is of Vanbrugh’s time, as also the chimneypiece, which is of the same design as those in the saloon, but with the black and yellow marble of its mass lightened by Carrara relievos of swags and urn. In the next two rooms there neither was, nor is, anything very important; while the fourth, or dining-room, opening into the saloon, is described by Mavor as an apartment “well adapted for its destination, being large, lofty and commodiously situated near the centre of the Palace.” Yet its distance from the kitchen court is immense, and in Vanbrugh’s plan there is nothing to indicate that he provided either servery or back way. “The ceiling,” as Mavor remarks, “is richly stuccoed, and the sides are wainscoted in large panels painted white. The chimneypiece is peculiarly handsome: it supports an elegant clock mounted on an elephant in bronze and crowned with an American Indian.” Crossing the saloon, we enter the south-western suite, and there we find further de Vost tapestries, no doubt those which the duchess was to inspect as she passed through Brussels in 1712.

The foreground figures are full of animation and of rich colouring, contrasting well with the grey, pearly tones of the background, where troops are marching, fortresses are being bombarded, and towns and villages dot the flat Flemish landscape. In the first room (Fig. 144) are depicted the siege of Lille and the Battle of Malplaquet. In the second room (Fig. 145) we have a series of views of the march to Bouchain and its siege. Why so much is made of so small an affair it is difficult to understand, unless it is that a youngest child is sometimes the favourite. The capture of Bouchain was the only achievement of Marlborough’s last campaign against Villars in 1711. It was meant as the first step in a scheme to enter into the heart of France; but the English Government were bent on making peace rather than on waging war, and a few months later, as we have seen, the duke was dismissed from his command. The dog that shows so well in the illustration is a famous one. It belonged to General Cadogan (on whom the brunt of the early part of the Battle of Oudenarde had fallen three years earlier), and, after being always at his heels throughout the Flemish campaigns, it returned home safe and sound. In the third room (Fig. 146) we see Marlborough’s main army marching up to support Cadogan at Oudenarde. Over the chimneypiece of this room is a portrait by Kneller of the duke with Armstrong, another of his generals. In the Bouchain room the corresponding panel is occupied by Louis XIV, who seems to be gazing at the invaders of his dominions; while in the first room we are brought down to the art and history of our own day by Carolus Duran’s very masterly presentment of the lady who, when this photograph was taken, was the reigning duchess, but is now Mme. Balsan. Some subsidiary changes in the setting of the rooms have been made since then, but permission to take further photographs has not been obtainable. The decoration of the three rooms, if a little heavy and gorgeous, offers a fine example of the style which prevailed in England during the early portion of the Hanoverian *régime*, together with the changes made in George III’s time. Of the latter date are the fine mahogany double doors of the State suite, as well as the inter-fenestral mirrors. But behind those in the first State room we see old red and cream coloured Genoa velvet, which may be a survival of the 3,200yds. of such material that the duchess begged Lord Manchester to get for her in Venice in 1708, or of the “vast deal” more which she warned him she would need him to get for her for Blenheim.

The suite comprises what, in Mavor’s day, were called the Green Drawing-room, the State Drawing-room and the State Bedchamber. The west doorway out of the last opens into the gallery (Fig. 147) of the Vanbrugh correspondence, but which, after he was no longer concerned with the place, became the library. We have seen him unsuccessfully pleading for a building facing south on to the west parterre, which might be a tripartite greenhouse after the manner of the Kensington orangery, but, preferably, a place for books, as there was no library in the house itself. Marlborough, evidently, was not a book lover and saw no need for a library. But to



146.—THE THIRD STATE-ROOM.

It is the west great bedchamber of the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plan.

Blenheim, in the time of his widow or grandson, came the book collection which, in 1707, Macky had called "the finest in Europe." The duke's son-in-law, Sunderland, the clever, if not tactful or reliable, statesman whom we saw dismissed from the Secretaryship of State in 1710, did not limit his interests to politics. He began collecting books and manuscripts when he was sixteen, and he was only twenty-seven when Macky gave such high praise to the collection. No doubt, that soon after brought together by the Harleys, Earls of Oxford, surpassed it. Both, however, were alike in being one source of their owners' financial embarrassment. It appears that Sunderland, in need of money, appealed to the duchess, who, being by no means liberally

mind towards him since her daughter's death, made him pledge the library as security for a loan. Whether the library came to Blenheim in her day, or not until her grandson succeeded her there, is not quite clear. Mr. Fletcher, in his "English Book Collectors," published in 1902, states that "In 1749 the library was removed to Blenheim." Yet, such of the fittings as remain still have a flavour of the Grinling Gibbons manner, and even have been attributed to him. The apartment occupies the whole of the west end of the house, being upwards of 180ft. long. It is divided into five sections, of which that at each end is marked off by an archway, and has a domed ceiling of rich plasterwork. An illustration (Fig. 148) shows that at the north end, altered in recent times to admit of an organ. The south end, however, is untouched, being fitted with a gallery and a stairway to it, the whole fitted with woodwork of very fine craftsmanship. After the library was sold in 1882, the bookcases that lined the walls were removed and their spaces occupied by the lower range of pictures seen in the illustration. More recently, bookcases imitative of the old have been introduced (Fig. 150). For the rest, this noble room, which, like the saloon, is of two-storey height, will be very much as Vanbrugh designed it. The central portion (Fig. 149) is widened by throwing forward the building and also adding a great two-storeyed bay, which, outside (Fig. 123), shows Doric pilasters supporting the first entablature, from which rise great caryatides supporting the second one—a different arrangement from the Bow-window Room on the east front, which is only of single-storey height (Fig. 125). In the gallery interior marble has been freely used; the whole of the bay is lined with it. The tall fluted pilasters are of white marble set upon black, and the same black marble forms the skirtings and dado rail of the rest of the room. The doorways are composed of several kinds of light-coloured marbles with black as a background between the great Doric outer case and the lighter inner one with its scrolled top (Fig. 151). Although all this can only have been completed after Vanbrugh's final quarrel with the duchess, there can be no doubt that Hawksmoor, who remained in charge, carried out the scheme which Vanbrugh and himself will have devised. From the north end of the gallery a door opens into the western colonnade, or piazza, that leads to the chapel, the floor of which is on ground-floor level, reached, on opening a door from the piazza, by a double descent of marble steps. Its chief feature is Rysbrach's great monument, already alluded to (Fig. 152). But the marble and stucco of walls and ceiling, and the carved oakwork of pulpit, pews and other fittings are all of the most sumptuous and dignified kind. Here, again, the general scheme will have been Vanbrugh's, although even the fabric of this particular building may not have gone far when the 1716 rupture with the duchess occurred. Indeed, of the exterior of Blenheim we may, no doubt, say, as we did of Castle Howard, that, while the general plan and the structural work of the greater spaces—hall, saloon and gallery—were Vanbrugh's special sphere, he did not personally design or superintend the details of the fittings of the lesser apartments. Hawksmoor, as at Castle Howard, will have had much more to do with them, while a good deal was left to the initiative of the highly trained craftsmen and artists who were employed for the joinery and carving, the stuccowork and the painting.

As regards the exterior, both of the "Body of the house"—as Campbell terms it—and of the "outworks," the surviving letters and other documents show Vanbrugh deeply absorbed in the minutiae of their composition. At Castle Howard the one salient sky-line feature is the dome. For that he had ample precedents, alike in France and Italy, and both in ecclesiastical and lay buildings. The Blenheim scheme is much more original and exceptional. To the pedantic and the lovers of the normal that, in itself, has been a source of offence and the origin of much of the adverse criticism freely bestowed on it by so many of Vanbrugh's contemporaries and successors. Such views, popularised by Horace Walpole, obtained in Mavor's time, but were being modified before he published his 1806 edition. He admits that Vanbrugh had been "censured with some show of reason for the general heaviness of his designs and his deviation from the purer models of Greece and Rome." But, as Blenheim was "a pile intended to remain a monument of British valour and British generosity," he concludes that Vanbrugh—

deserves very considerable applause for his judgement, in a circumstance which has principally exposed him to the censure of pretended critics; he had rendered this structure characteristic and expressive of its destination. Its massy grandeur, its spacious portals, and its lofty towers, recal the ideas of defence and security; with these we naturally associate the hero for whom it was erected, and thus find it emblematic of his talents and pursuits.

At Blenheim, lofty as is the central, or hall, feature, it is sturdy and not soaring. Behind the enormous portico is another higher and bigger pediment with its projecting ends shaped to it in a way that suggests slicing (Fig. 104), but was designed for a double purpose, the one architectural—to give sufficient recess and shadow to the centre; the other practical—to accommodate the two spiral staircases that carry you to the top of the hall and on to the roof. The central height being thus impressive by mass, the vertical lines that, at various points, supported it, were given a more varied outline and as much lightness as consorted with the monument-like character of the whole. These “towers” are eight in number. The ends and centres of the east and west ranges account for six (Fig. 108), while the other two rise above the arches that lead from forecourt to base courts. This permitted of three different treatments, of which the most normal and graceful are the pair on the base-court buildings (Fig. 115). Those at the pavilion ends of the east and west ranges (Fig. 120) give the idea of huge rusticated plinths rising to the height of two lofty storeys and supporting arched gazebos, from each corner of which rises a Brobdingnagian presentment of the hand grenade emblem worn by grenadiers—the flame in this case being topped by a ducal coronet. Behind the bow-window centres of the east and west ranges (Figs. 123 and 126) rise other somewhat similar erections. The object of all of them was not merely æsthetic, for they are used as a mode of disguising that necessary, but non-monumental feature, the chimney. Through the pilasters that flank the arcades of the gazebos Vanbrugh ran his flues, using also the buttress-like projections of the tall hall building for the same purpose. Thus, we must not set Vanbrugh down as a mere adventurer in dramatic effects. His planning shows as much, if not more, resource and invention as that of his contemporaries, and, as we have already seen at Castle Howard, is nowhere more noticeable than in his treatment of the environment of the great country seats that he created.



147.—LOOKING SOUTH DOWN THE GALLERY AS IT WAS IN 1909.



148.—LOOKING NORTH DOWN THE GALLERY AS IT WAS IN 1909.



149.—THE WEST SIDE OF THE GALLERY.

Although, at Woodstock, Nature did not provide such salient features as at Henderskelfe and at Claremont, yet there was much in the slopes and turns of the little Glyme valley that broad handling could render very effective. The sufficiency of water to change the brook into a lake was the most important gift that Nature made to the father of our landscape gardening—and Vanbrugh's Blenheim scheme, which realised the value of the old Manor House buildings as an item of the picturesque treatment of the valley, entitles him to that description. No doubt, he was, to a very large extent, under the influence of the school of Le Nôtre, and formality was the basis of his treatment near the house, and even extended afar along certain lines, such as the Mall, or eastward avenue, and the northward outlet from the house across the bridge, through the formal grouping of trees, and up to the Ditchley gate. As part of this formality, he included the water as it passed under the bridge, so that, although above and below he made it lake-like—that is, following the natural contours of the ground—yet within close range of the bridge he formed it as a canal of the width of the great arch. This scheme appears in the design of the park published in the 1727 volume of the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*" (Fig. 135), and is represented in two engravings of Blenheim, dated 1752, and published, with others, by Boydell. One of them, giving a view of the house and park from the north-west, shows the house on the extreme right, and, on the left, the canal passing under the bridge, Woodstock town being seen above the latter. The other engraving gives the east side of the bridge, and has the house on the left (Fig. 133).

Only in the matter of this ceremonial approach to the monumental abode did Vanbrugh seek to overcome Nature with geometry. Elsewhere he recognised that when

she strongly asserted herself she should be respected—nay, treasured and enhanced. So much was this the basis of the lay-out that Vanbrugh, with Henry Wise, designed for Blenheim, that it was changed in detail only by Lancelot Brown, as shown in the “new and accurate plan” that is included in Mavor’s 1806 edition (Fig. 136). The parterres to east and west and the great bastioned hexagon—in some ways like the Castle Howard scheme, but much more closely resembling that at Eastbury (Fig. 264)—were, of course, replaced by swelling lawns and curving paths. But the water scheme for which Brown received such high praise is Vanbrugh’s, somewhat developed. The dam is at the same spot, but Brown evidently found it could be somewhat heightened so as to increase the length of the arm of the lake that runs north-west. The one considerable alteration he made is certainly an improvement. He abolished the canal and carried his lake uninterruptedly along from the point where the stream enters the park down to the distant dam. He thus gave the bridge and causeway a finer setting, and removed all possible grounds of Horace Walpole’s criticism, “like the beggars at the old Duchess’s gate, it begged for a drop of water and was refused.” Faringdon made coloured drawings of the park, showing Brown’s alterations, and one of them (Fig. 134) is illustrated from the engraving in the “History of the River Thames,” published by Boydell in 1794.

Not only did Brown leave Vanbrugh’s kitchen garden untouched, but, behind it, although he introduced two curved walks, yet the extensive scheme of formal tree-set alleys was retained. The Mall remained untouched, and there was no alteration in the great park beyond a certain measure of the clumping and belting that were Brown’s leading stock-in-trade. Like Stowe, Blenheim, as Vanbrugh



150.—THE GALLERY WITH THE BOOKCASES REPLACED.



151.—ONE OF THE GALLERY DOORWAYS.

made it, had an environment that associated with and emphasised his great architectural creation, and yet gave glimpses of the picturesque areas of nature. It was far more intellectually conceived and interestingly varied than the commonplace and tidied landscaping of Brown, which was, in truth, quite as artificial in its processes as the formality that he destroyed. Of that a considerable amount has been replaced. Several illustrations (Figs. 128 to 130) show the re-created Eastern parterre, while extensive reinstating work of a formal nature is being carried out on the west side. The great hexagon south garden, which, including its rectangular extension towards the house, covered a space 150 yards across, would be a huge work, and there is no likelihood of our ever having the opportunity of gauging how far Vanbrugh was successful in giving charm and distinction to any one of his curious and individual shaped and treated garden enclosures, protected, as they were, by curtain wall and bastion.



152.—THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S MONUMENT.

It was designed by Rysbrach, and is the chief feature of the north side of the chapel (Fig. 109 c).

CHAPTER III

KIMBOLTON CASTLE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE

WHILE the Earl of Manchester was on embassy at Venice, in July, 1707, Vanbrugh wrote to him as to Kimbolton Castle, "the whole garden front has come down." This mediæval home of the Mandevilles had passed to the Wingfields before Henry VIII sought his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and when, in 1533, various habitations were offered to her to choose from as her place of retirement, it was Kimbolton that she selected, and there, sad and forlorn, she passed away in the December gloom of 1536, while the King held his Christmas revels at Greenwich.

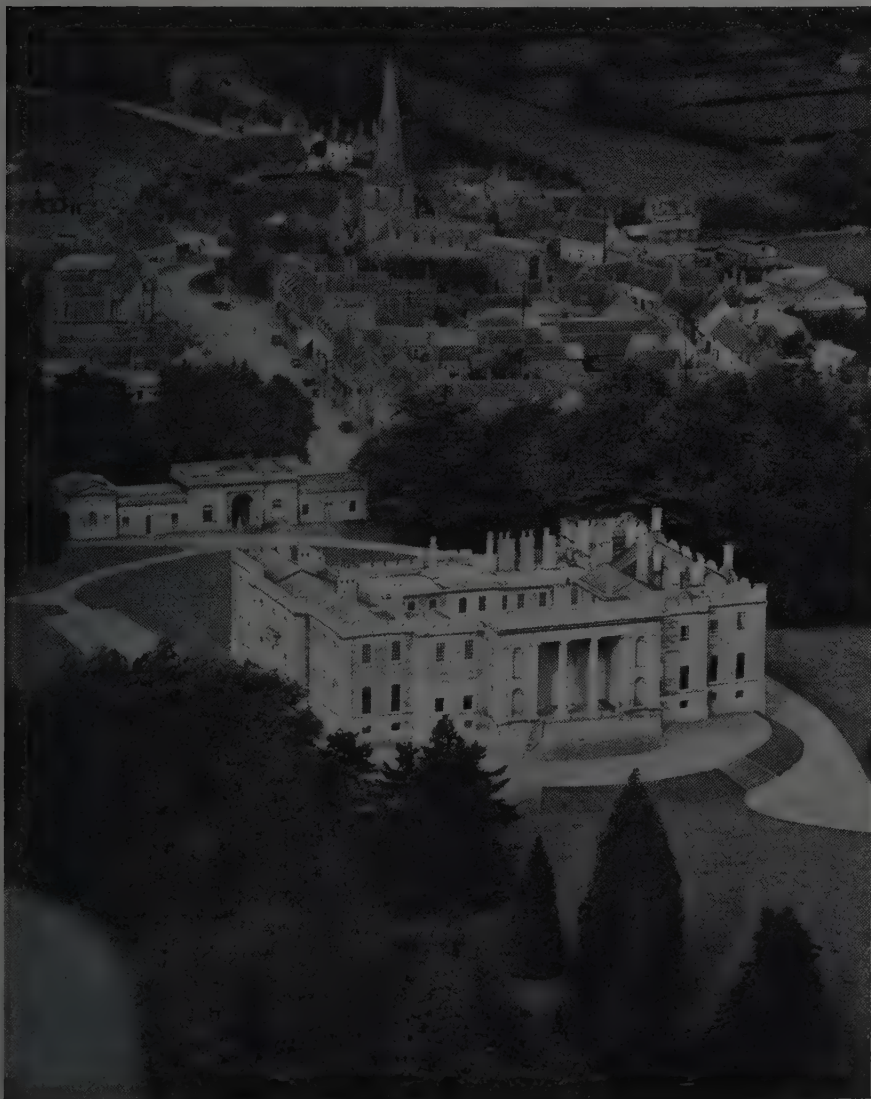
Eighty years later the estate came into the possession of Sir Henry Montagu, who, like his grandfather, the founder of the Montagu fortunes in Henry VIII's day, followed the law as a calling and became Chief Justice in 1616. By Charles I he was given the Manchester earldom, and it was his capable grandson, the fourth earl—afterwards the first duke—to whom the 1707 letter was written. He had succeeded to earldom and estates in 1683, by which date, as a decided Whig, he was out of favour with Charles II, and became still more so with his brother, who soon succeeded as James II, and whose unconstitutional acts were so strongly objected to by Manchester that he became an eager supporter of William of Orange, and joined him with a troop of horse after the Torbay landing in 1688.

Favour, fame and fortune were now open to the owner of Kimbolton, who set to work to give

the house something of the taste of the day. He, however, under William III, treated only some of the rooms, and confined his exterior work to a re-casing and re-shaping of the interior of the quadrangle with brick and stone, giving it a Late Renaissance character and symmetry by even tiers of sash windows. The outer walls of the castle then probably offered a medley of the late Wingfield and early Montagu times, and other portions besides the south or garden front were, no doubt, in shaky condition.

Who it was that designed and carried out the changes of William III's time we do not know for certain, but, very likely, it was Coleman, whom the duchess employed when the 1707 collapse occurred, and before, as Vanbrugh puts it, she asked his advice as to "carrying it up again." Vanbrugh's action on being called in is set out in his letter to the duke dated July 18th :

I could not go down just then but did soon after, and got Mr Hawksmoor



153.—KIMBOLTON CASTLE FROM THE AIR.



154.—ARCHWAY INTO THE QUADRANGLE.

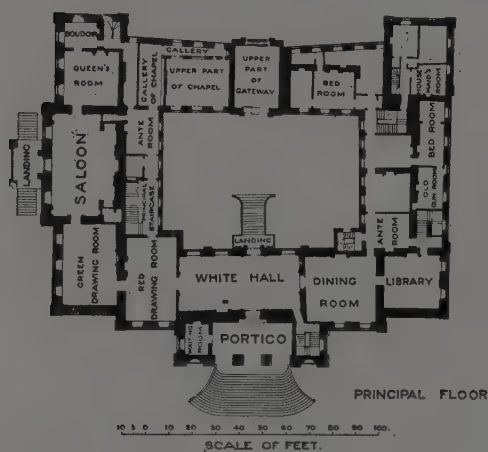
down with me, when, having considered everything, we all agreed upon the inclosed design, which differs very much from what Coleman had drawn, and particularly in that he had not brought the door of the house into the middle of the front; many other great exceptions there were to it, both within and without, the chief of which are in this design decided.

Although the well established disposition of a *piano nobile* at that time was “to go immediately out of the drawing-room into the bed-chamber,” yet, had this principle been acted upon at Kimbolton—

there could have been no regular or proper way out of this front into the garden, which would have been an unpardonable want. There was, therefore, a necessity for some new contrivance, and I thought there could nothing in reason be objected to being supplied with a large noble room of parade between the drawing-room and the bed-chamber, especially since it falls so right to the garden that the door is in the middle of the room, and takes exactly the middle walk and canal. For my part, I cannot but hope it will prove an agreeable (though unusual) accident in the apartment; and this I am sure, that consider the room in itself, and it will be beyond all contest the most pleasant in the house. I wish it could have been made a real Salon, by carrying it up into the next story, but that would have destroyed one of the three bedchambers above, which my Lady thinks cannot be spared. ’Twill, however, be eighteen foot high, which is no contemptible thing, tho’ not what in strictness one would wish.

The duke, however, was not at once convinced of the necessity for this “room of parade,” as the hall, occupying, as the plan (Fig. 155) shows, the centre of the east side of the quadrangle and already re-modelled and re-fitted by him, gave him such an apartment. But in September, Vanbrugh returns to the charge:

I do not deny but the hall might be sufficient in such an apartment without any other great room, but it does not follow that the apartment is the worse for a second, and in this case it so falls out that there was no way of avoiding it, without (in my judgement) utterly spoiling the apartment within or the front without; both which are this way saved, and that only by adding one room of state, or, in truth, only making it a little bigger than was absolutely necessary. Another thing to be observed is, that there was no way of disposing the space there was to be divided with less expense than this way, for two small rooms cost more in finishing than one great one. As to the height, your Lordship says true, that they ought all to be eighteen feet, and so they will. We considered how to dispose the stairs down into the garden so as not to break too much into the terrace, and all that will be very well. Your Lordship says you would have the ceilings coved for painting as the Hall is; I am afraid they are too low for painting, nor will they admit of a coving very deep, but if your Lordship returns before this time twelve months, you will be time enough to consider the matter upon the place, for I reckon the house will not be covered before Midsummer. I was about six weeks since; it was then but six or seven feet high. I liked mighty well what was done, and Coleman owned he began to discover a gusto in it that he had no notion of before. I shall be much deceived if people do not see a manly beauty in it when it is up, that they did not conceive could be produced out of such rough materials; but it is certainly the figure and proportions that make the most pleasing fabric, and not the delicacy of the ornaments, a proof of which I am in great hopes to show your Lordship at Kimbolton.



155.—PLAN.

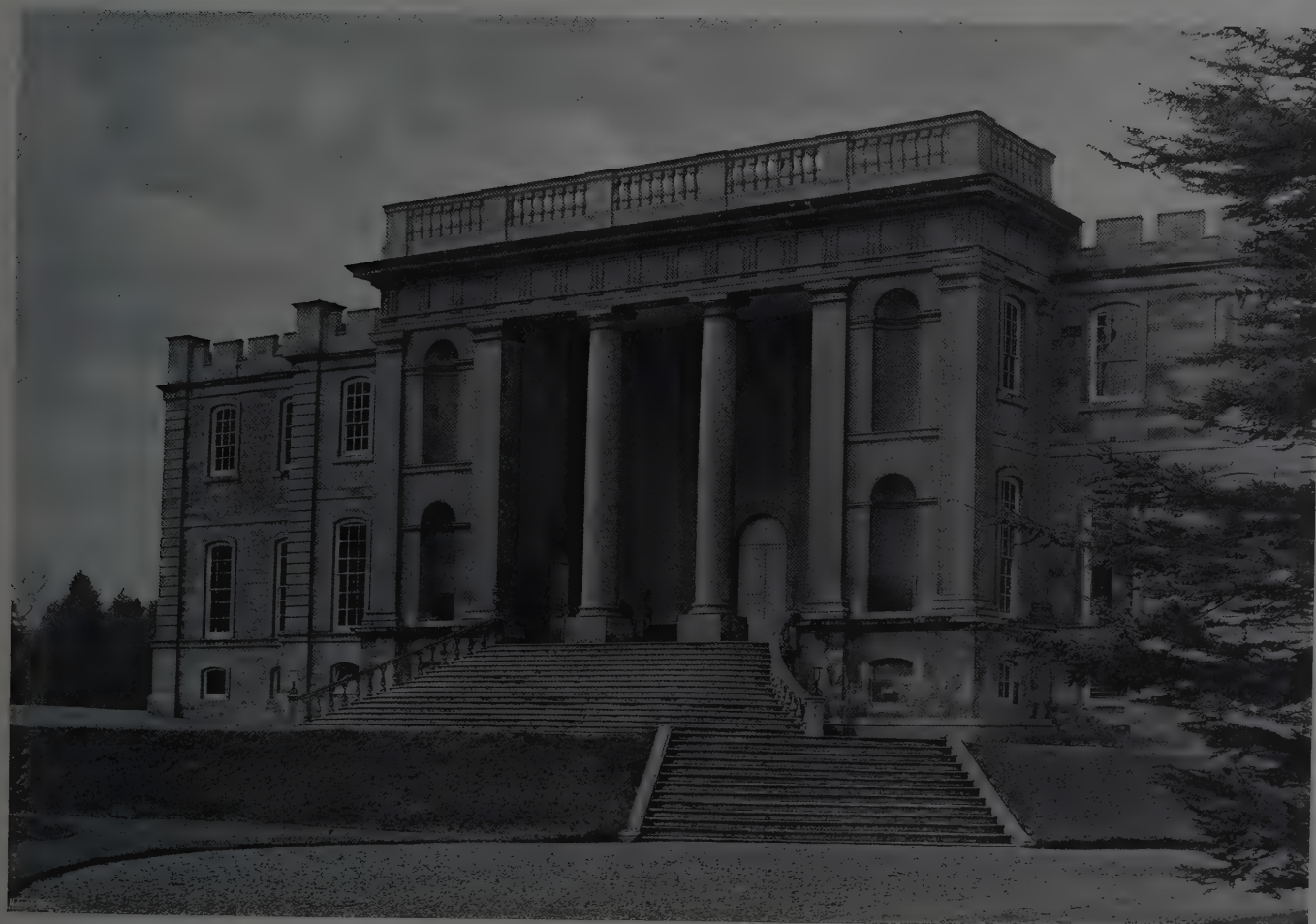
The “manly beauty” was to arise by giving to the exterior, as Vanbrugh put it—

something of the castle air, though at the same time to make it regular, and by this means, too, all the old stone is serviceable again, which, to have had new, would have run to a very great expense. This method was practised at Windsor in King Charles’s time, and has been universally approved. So I hope your Lordship will not be discouraged if any Italian you may show it to, should find fault that it is not Roman; for to have built a front with pilasters and what the orders require, could never have been done with the rest of the castle. I am sure this will make a very noble and masculine show, and it is of as warrantable a kind of building as any. I hope I need say no more, to gain your Lordships approbation of it, than what I have done, and I shall be very glad, if when you return, you are pleased with it.

Vanbrugh carried the day: the saloon (Fig. 158) is as he planned and completed it, his main feature being a



156.—THE SOUTH FACADE.



157.—THE GREAT EAST PORTICO.

marble chimneypiece, somewhat of the same character as he favoured for Blenheim (Fig. 144), but with a huge shell as its central ornament.

The exterior (Fig. 156) shows the reason why Vanbrugh would not accept Coleman's makeshift scheme of preserving the old interior disposition that made the exterior unsymmetrical and gave it no feature to range with the canal which lay before the house. Vanbrugh, by slight alteration, made his saloon central, and gave it additional width by bringing this part of the front forward, with a columned doorway and flight of steps down marking the central point.

We see on this elevation a treatment of corners which he frequently repeated. It consists of replacing mere quoins by pilasters, often in pairs or groups, and so massive—besides being rusticated—as to give something of the structural effect of strong buttresses to corner turrets. Those at Kimbolton will be part of the scheme “to make it regular” while giving it “a castle air.” But he was equally insistent upon the device, even where all the features were



158.—THE SALOON.

“Roman.” Thus, at Blenheim, he had already, for his mighty north and south porticoes and his archways through to the side courts, given massiveness to the corners by clustering there not round, but square, columns. At Duncombe (Fig. 195) he repeats the Kimbolton pilaster, unrusted, but with even greater solidity and accentuation; while at Seaton Delaval (Fig. 408) he reaches the fullest development by introducing ringed columns in groups of three, rising from huge stylobates and supporting arresting clumps of Doric entablature.

The progress of the Kimbolton work is registered by Vanbrugh's letters to the earl so long as he was abroad. In March, 1708, he goes “to wait upon my Lady at Kimbolton to settle things for going on with the building,” and he thinks that the rising fabric of the saloon projection “looks mighty pleasantly up the middle of the garden and canal.” In May, he finds that “Coleman is going on at Kimbolton”; while an August letter shows that the earl is soon expected home, and Vanbrugh hopes he will “find the shell of the building complete” and ready for decorations

and furniture. Manchester has written that he is bringing a painter back with him from Venice, but Vanbrugh tells him that the new rooms "can't be ready for him this winter, so I suppose you will set him to work upon the hall." There are now, however, no painted walls or ceilings at Kimbolton, nor is there record that any were thus treated. Vanbrugh found plenty of work elsewhere for the artist, who, without doubt, was the Pelegrini whom we have seen painting the Castle Howard hall and high saloon four years later.

Manchester's presence in England after the summer of 1708 made written accounts of the further progress of the Kimbolton work unnecessary, and so we do not know the exact date when the other sides of the house were treated. But before the earl's return, Vanbrugh had begun moving for a complete re-building or re-casing, and in his March letter had written :

Several other small amendments to the house we have thought on, and I apprehend but one thing from the whole, which is that your Lordship will two or three years hence find yourself under a violent temptation to take down and rebuild (suitable to this new front) all the outside walls round the castle. But I'll say no more of that till I see you at home, and Secretary of State again.

The west, or entrance, side (Fig. 154) presents the same massive corner treatment as we have noted to the south. But on the east we appreciate that the combining of the "regular" with the "castle air" presented difficulties that Vanbrugh did not very satisfactorily overcome. Of itself, the great portico (Fig. 157), which is set in front of the hall and is devoid of all windows except at the sides, is a good and well proportioned conception, to which dignity is added by the noble curved stairway down from it to the terrace. But its greater height, topped with classic balustrade, and the awkward butting up of its cornice against the battlementing of the main structure make it look like an independent monument set against the house, instead of forming an integral part of the design. The same not fully satisfying effect is present in less marked degree in the centre of Vanbrugh's Greenwich Hospital building (Fig. xiii). An original and inventive architect, he was often not quite happy in his alterations and additions



159.—THE SALOON MANTELPIECE.

to existing structures. It was fortunate that at Grimsthorpe he entirely reconstructed the great entrance elevation and its forecourt buildings (Fig. 439 to 441). It is, therefore, a complete conception, while the stoppage of work before he went farther leaves a very picturesque gabled composition to the south. At Kimbolton his exterior alterations are interesting, as showing his ideas and methods, rather than arresting and satisfying as perfectly congruous conceptions, such as he gives us at Castle Howard, Blenheim and Seaton Delaval.

The treatment of the north, west and east sides may well have occupied Manchester's attention during the enforced political leisure that he shared with Marlborough, Carlisle and other Whigs during the Harley-Bolingbroke Ministry of 1712-14. With the Hanoverian accession came a return of official duties, followed by added honours. George I made him a lord of the bedchamber on his accession, and in 1719 set the strawberry leaves on his brow. As he left Kimbolton so—not only as regards the building, but also the decorations and furniture—has it remained little altered to this day. The chief change was the erection by Robert Adam of the gate-house that faces and is in sympathy with the west elevation. It is seen over the roof of the house in the aeroplane view (Fig. 153), with the church and the houses of the picturesque little Huntingdon town beyond it.

CHAPTER IV

EASTON NESTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

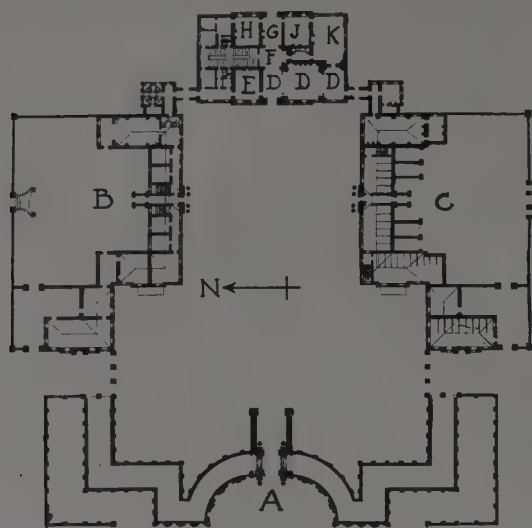
SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN'S name has been—indeed, still is—freely used in connection with the one country house of which the undoubted architect was Nicholas Hawksmoor. His “ingenius Invention” the “Vitruvius Britannicus” calls it, while he himself alludes to it as “his own child.” But there are grounds for introducing Sir Christopher on to the Easton Neston *tapis*, for he is the author of a surviving letter to its owner dealing with building operations. If village there ever was, clustering round church and manor house at Easton Neston, it has disappeared as completely as at Henderskelfe, where, however, even the church was swept away as obstructing the house and outworks of Castle Howard. At Easton Neston the church remains, with its graveyard, as a little inset in Hawksmoor's lay-out of house and grounds. The exact site of the earlier home of the lords of the manor is uncertain, but John Bridges, the local topographer, who will have reached manhood before it was swept away, tells us that “the old feat which was a large one stood below the church,” that is, south of it, whereas the present one, which bears the date 1702 upon it, stands above, or north of it. A vast park surrounds it, reaching up to the town of Towcester, where, in the fifteenth century, was reared a boy destined to be one

of the many who, under the Tudors, travelled the anxious road to greatness only to find the block on Tower Hill at the end.

A branch of the Towe river divides the town of Towcester from the park of Easton, and in Mill Lane, while Plantagenets still reigned, dwelt Peter Empson, sieve - maker. Whether the profit of his trade or the favour of a more important man enabled his son Richard to be educated for the law we know not. But we find him, in the days when Edward IV was king, in a position to acquire parcels of land near his native town. Next we find him acting for Sir Richard Bray as trustee to his newly acquired estate of Edgcote, some eight or ten miles west of Towcester. Bray, soldier and statesman—architect also, if we accept him as the designer of St. George's Chapel,



160.—THE CENTRE OF THE WEST SIDE.



161.—HAWKSMOOR'S PLAN OF HOUSE, OUT-BUILDINGS AND FORECOURT.

A, forecourt buildings, never erected; B, 1682 office wing still surviving; C, 1682 stable wing long ago removed; D, D, D, tripartite hall; E, little dining-room, now entrance hall; F, centre of gallery from which staircase opens; G, east end of gallery opening on to garden; H, and J, small sitting-rooms; K, present dining-room.



162.—THE MODEL.

Windsor—was one of Henry VII's most favoured counsellors, and it will have been through him that Empson was recommended to the King as a keen administrator and adept at all practices—including those that were sharp—whereby the Royal Exchequer might profit, and command of the purse might give that security to the occupier of the throne which had been wanting during the Wars of the Roses. In conjunction with Edmund Dudley, Richard Empson filled the Royal coffers, with good allowance to his own purse. The fifteenth century had not ended before he became the great man of the town where his father had made sieves. He was lord of its manor and of its hundred, and among the estates he acquired Easton Neston was only one. But it was there he made his principal home, so that, in 1499, we find him obtaining licence to empark the land and crenellate the house. His prosperity, however, depended upon Royal favour.

To all but the King his unscrupulous mode of raising money was offensive. That was specially borne in upon Henry VIII when he succeeded in 1509. The £1,800,000 that he found in his father's coffers would provide him with much gratification and popularity, but he did not consider that either of these desirable objects would be advanced by shielding the gatherers of the hoard from the general rancour. They might as well be thrown to the wolves, and so, on Tower Hill in the following year, Richard Empson paid the penalty for a treason which he had not committed.

Although forfeiture followed attainder, yet, after time had toned down the hatred of the Empson name, the son Thomas obtained restitution of some of his father's land, including Easton Neston. He seems, however, to have suffered from impecuniosity and to have sought financial aid from William Fermor of Somerton, in Oxfordshire. He was the son of a Witney clothier who had changed his Welsh father's name of Ricards for that of Fermor (which may have been his mother's) and married the widow of another Witney clothier, Henry Wenman. Thomas Fermor, dying in 1485, left two sons, the William already mentioned and Richard, who added

much to the family fortunes by becoming a London "grocer" and a merchant of the Staple of Calais, with wide semi-political Continental dealings on Wolsey's behalf, like his contemporary city merchant, Richard



163.—HAWKSMOOR'S ORIGINAL DESIGN FOR THE WEST ELEVATION.



164.—THE WEST SIDE AND NEW FORECOURT, SHOWING THE 1682 WING.



165.—THE WEST, OR ENTRANCE, SIDE.



166.—FORECOURT AND WING SEEN THROUGH THE NEW SCREEN.

Gresham. It is with William Fermor—as Baker, in his “History of Northamptonshire,” tells us—that Thomas Empson made the arrangements whereby, for £1,000 down, Easton Neston and other properties should pass to the Fermors at Thomas Empson’s death without issue. That occurred in 1535, and Richard Fermor, to whom his brother assigned any rights he may have had, entered into possession, made Easton Neston his chief seat and left it to his descendants, who, in the female line, hold it to this day.



167.—THE POSTS OF THE ORIGINAL GATEWAY.

Yet, when all seemed serene, Dame Fortune—a very vixen in that age—dealt him a nasty blow. He lived splendidly and hospitably, keeping a great house and large retinue, including even that almost Royal luxury, a jester. But he made the mistake of adhering to the ancient religion, and so became suspect to Thomas Cromwell. In 1540 his confessor, Nicholas Thayne, was imprisoned in Buckingham Castle, and Richard Fermor paid him a visit there and gave him eight pence and two shirts. For this he was dragged before the Council, which pronounced that he had incurred a *præmunire*. His goods and estates were forfeited and he himself committed to the Marshalsea, though he soon got his release and was allowed to retire to the parsonage of Wapenhams, near Easton. This set-back, however, was only temporary, and the part of saviour of the family appears to have been played by the jester, Will Somers, who passed into the Royal service and who appears in that Holbeinesque picture of Henry VIII and his family that visitors to Hampton Court will know well. Somers, we are told, used the freedom of his position and his influence with the King to urge the cause of his late employer. On his death-bed the King was induced to relent, and his dying wish that Fermor should obtain restitution was



168.—STAIRWAY TO THE FRONT DOOR.



169.—THE CENTRAL DOORWAY OF THE WING.

carried out under his successor. Thus, the Fermors returned to their home, and the sumptuous alabaster tomb (Fig. 193), 11 ft. across, to Richard's grandson, Sir George, is an indication of the wealth and importance of the owner of Easton Neston, who, in 1603, entertained King James when he came there to meet his consort and elder son on their way from Scotland. So great was the concourse to witness the meeting that the countryside could "scarse lodge the infinit companie of lords and ladies and other people." Several of the more important were made knights, among those who received the sword stroke being Hatton Fermor, who followed his father in possession in 1612, and escaped the troubles of the Civil War by dying in the year when it broke out. His son, however, coming of age in 1641, commanded a troop of horse for King Charles, who made him a baronet. When the tide turned against the Royalists he suffered sequestration, but in 1645 was allowed to compound on payment of £1,400, and he lived to acclaim Charles II in 1660. In the following year he was a member of the loyal Parliament, was knighted at the Coronation, and a brilliant future was opening for him, when he was struck down, apparently by smallpox, and died "at the house of Mr. Hill, a tailor, at the sign of the Lyon's Head in Covent Garden." His son was a boy of thirteen, and eight years of minority will have made him not merely the owner of a good estate, but of a considerable accumulation of wealth. With this he dealt prudently. It was some twenty years after he succeeded that he initiated his first scheme of re-housing himself. But he then made little way with it, and ten or more years went by before he set to work again in grander manner. To the period of this first scheme Wren's letter, although undated, no doubt belongs. We read in Bridges' "Northamptonshire" that—

The only house now in *Eston* is the magnificent seat of the Earl of *Pomfret* or *Pontefract*. The wings are of brick, and were built by Sir *Christopher Wren*. Finished 1702, about 20 yrs after Erection of wings. It was built by *Hawkesmore* who hath very much departed from the first design.

John Bridges died in 1724, leaving the materials for his "History" unprinted. They were not published till 1791, and there may have been some editorial revision. But the above quotation gives the impression of being an exact transcription of the original notes of a man who was a local contemporary, aged eighteen at the date he sets down for the first scheme, and thirty-eight when Hawksmoor's building was sufficiently advanced for the date to be carved on its entablature. Even so, we may doubt whether we are to set down Sir Christopher as the actual designer of the 1682 scheme, which included the wings that Bridges mentions, one of which still survives. It is Sir Christopher's own letter that creates this doubt. It was found among some family letters at Draycott Hall, Richmond, Yorkshire, and was given to the father of the present Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh in 1899. It runs as follows:

Sr

Sept 5th

Mr Murry hath given me some account of the progresse you have made in your walling. It is hard to give particular directions for the highthes of the walls on the corner of the Garden next the church, but this I lay in generall that they must not be higher than will give you the Libertie of a prospect towards Towcester from the great Garden & also that the windowes of your parlor may looke over them. Let the workmen fet up some small poles & tack a board levell upon them wch you may fet higher or lower till you are your selfe satisfied what highth the walls may be not to prejudice your prospect, & that highth you may continue along your church yard walls also. Your Green houses may have staircases without as I have shewn Mr Murry with a chimney for the roome above, but then you must have more Loftiness because of the roome above. I hope you provide to carry up one story at least of the great house next yeare, it will be better worke to give it time to fettle the stone & brick together. Give me leave to advise you to one thing, You will never be satisfied with your floores unleffe you provide your boards early; this is the cheapest time of the yeare, you may deale with a Merchant heer to deliver your boardes at Wisbich from where you may have them brought to St Ives wch I take to be your efiest way. 400lb well layd out will furnifh you, & out of such a stock you may pick out good boardes for your best roomes & the rest will be ufed for the Garrets, & your roomes over the Kitchin, for the boardes that are there are only for your pigsties. I am the more earnest in this becaufe though you may fit your selfe with all other materialls at hand, yet these materialls may be noe otherwife supplied by that time you have Earth enough in your great Garden. I will if I can fet it out.

I wifh you all health & remaine

your most humble Serv^t

Chr Wren.

This letter implies that Wren had not made a survey of—perhaps had never seen—the site of the proposed house, and was uncertain of its exact relationship, in position and altitude, to the existing church. It would appear that a Mr. Murray, acting for Sir William Fermor, had gone to Sir Christopher with plans and propositions and had asked for the great man's criticisms of and suggestions on them. These, however, are principally confined to garden walls and greenhouses. There is nothing on the subject of a house design or any reference to the structure except a pious hope that it may be out of the ground in a year's time, and some practical advice



170.—THE EAST, OR GARDEN, SIDE.



171.—FROM THE NORTH-EAST.



172.—THE NORTH SIDE SEEN THROUGH THE KITCHEN GARDEN GATES.



173.—THE VIEW FROM THE GARDEN DOOR.

as to obtaining and storing floor boards. To what setting-out the last sentence of the letter refers is quite obscure, but, as a friend and connection by marriage, Wren may well have sketched for Sir William the sort of house and garden which the latter was wanting, and given a promise to revise the designs of some lesser man, much in the position of Coleman—whose plans for Kimbolton Vanbrugh revised in 1708—or, quite possibly, a Northamptonshire master builder, on the same footing as Thomas Webb “free-mason of Middlewyc’h” who, at the very date that Bridges gives for the Easton wings, undertook the “care & oversight of the contriving and building” of Erddig, in Denbighshire. At Easton Neston, “Mr Murry,” if he had similar functions, was not left unguided, for Sir Christopher, if he did not actually design, certainly dominated the designer. If, therefore, the full scheme had matured and had survived, we should have possessed an example of a country house to which we might attach the name of Wren with more foundation than those so often assigned to him, such as Belton, with which no known documentary evidence connects his name.

Of the 1682 scheme, however, nothing but the wings will ever have arisen out of the ground.



174.—THE DESCENT FROM PARTERRE TO BASIN.



175.—THE HOUSE SEEN ACROSS THE NEW BASIN.



176.—FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

That the foundations of the central block went in is likely enough. Tradition has it that trouble with springs led to a cessation of the work. That, if true, is curious, for the ground falls south, east and west of the site, and there is only a slight rise to the north. Stoppage, however, there certainly was, and it is equally certain that, when resumption came, there was, as Bridges tells us, a large departure from the original design.

Sir William Fermor's periods of building zeal coincided with his later marriages and appear to have had some relation to them. We do not hear that his first mating with a country squire's daughter in 1671 led to any special alteration of, still less migration from, the old house below the church. But the year 1682 given by Bridges as that of the Wren scheme is also that when Catherine Poulett, daughter of the third baron of that name, became Sir William's second wife, while, in March, 1692, he celebrated his nuptials with Sophia Osborne, daughter to the newly made Duke of Leeds, through whom, no doubt, it was that, in the following month, he obtained

the barony of Lempster. Tradition has it that it was this added honour and ducal relationship that caused him to scrap the humbler abode referred to in Wren's letter, and set about housing himself in the Italian *palazzo* manner that had become fashionable with Whig magnates. At the date when the brick-walled, stone-dressed scheme of which the existing wing remains as evidence was in hand Nicholas Hawksmoor was a youth who had lately entered Wren's office. But in the years that immediately followed the creation of the Lempster barony we have seen (page xvi) that he was already an adept at his profession and engaged, with or without Wren's guidance, in building and fitting the library of Queen's College, Oxford. His connection with Wren at that time was essentially that of a subordinate member of the Office of Works to its chief, for Wren was Surveyor General and Hawksmoor was clerk of



177.—THE DISTANT CANAL, SEEN FROM THE EAST SIDE OF THE HOUSE.

the works of William III's new palace at Kensington. Official business almost monopolised Wren's attention, and, therefore, nothing would be more natural than, on Lempster's applying to him for advice, he should recommend Hawksmoor. A real student of his art, he was already full of lore as to classic architecture both in old Rome and Renaissance Italy, and he would gladly give practical shape to his client's views on the creation of a dignified and ceremoniously planned country seat. There were, however, limitations to their grand ideas. Lord Lempster was not a man of exceptional wealth, and the new house had to fit into the space between the already erected wings. That space had been, no doubt, arranged as leaving plenty of room between the wings and the intended modest-sized house for segmental corridors or colonnades, such as our Late Renaissance architects so often devised. But Hawksmoor needed as much as he could possibly get of the 130ft. space for his new house, deep and solid though he designed it. Thus, as the model he made for it shows (Fig. 162), he left, at most, 10ft. at either end for little connecting links

taking the form of vestibules about 30ft. long, two-thirds of which projected into the court and thus permitted of easy access from central block to wings.

His combining, within a rectangle of which the outer measurements are no more than 110ft. by 70ft., such domestic accommodation as was then necessary with a set of noble reception spaces—including a most princely staircase—not only, as we shall see, pleased him very much, but attracted the attention of contemporaries. Thus, John Morton, who published his “*Natural History of Northamptonshire*” in 1712, gives praise not only to the excellent material and style of the house, but to its planning. He tells us that—

Easton, my Lord Lemster's House, is built of a fair white and durable Stone from Helmston, which is freer from an intermixture of yellowish Spots than is that of Ketton, and is indeed the finest Stone I have seen in England. 'Tis an accurate piece of Building, and has all the Conveniences of modern Architecture. No seat in Europe according to good Judges exceeds it. 1. Mellow Stone of which the Structure is built. 2. That notwithstanding the appearing Smallness it has so many Rooms of State. 3. That there is no part of the Space or Rooms within ufelefs.



178.—LILIES IN THE GREAT POOL.

The model, wholly constructed of oak, represents the shape and disposition of the house as erected, but differs from it considerably in detail. The changes that were made hint at the departure of Hawksmoor's style from that of Wren towards that of Vanbrugh. No doubt the model was made and the work begun before 1699, when we first have knowledge of Hawksmoor's connection with Vanbrugh. But the date on the frieze of the east front shows that the shell was not completed till 1702, long after Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh had begun their collaboration in the designing and erection of Castle Howard. Easton Neston, therefore, ended by being more monumental than was at first intended. The graceful little superimposed couples of columns and the segmental pediment in the centre of the west side as seen in the model gave way to a pair of massive shafts seated on a rusticated undercroft—acting as a massive plinth—and holding up a projecting portion of the entablature, above which is an equally massive panel of arms. In unison with these columns are pilasters of equal height and section set between each window, and the monumental effect is enhanced by slightly recessing the third window space on either side of the doorway, so that the ends stand out as independent sections of the composition in the same manner and to the same extent as does the centre.

The simplicity of the main west and east fronts (Figs. 165 and 170)—composed, above the undercroft, of two even tiers of lofty windows—is in contrast with the north side (Fig. 172), where extra accommodation is obtained by doubling the number of floors on either side of the huge arch-headed window of the great stair. Thus a very telling effect is obtained by an exterior response to internal requirements—a principle of architectural honesty “more honour’d in the breach than in the observance” by our classic architects. The main pile of Easton Neston deserves the praise that it received when it was erected, and which it still justly claims. But Hawksmoor, naturally, felt that the low and simple brick wings did not afford the right supports for his dignified ashlar block. He, therefore, re-planned them, re-faced with stone and transformed into parts of a great and far-projecting forecourt (Fig. 163). His full scheme was published in 1717 by Colin Campbell in the “*Vitruvius Britannicus*,” and it shows that by then the Vanbrugh influence had gained complete hold upon the designer. The enlarged and almost reconstructed wings might be part of Eastbury or Seaton Delaval, and the far projection and massive character of the niched and pilastered walls of the forecourt, stretching out on each side of the entrance archway, remind us of what was intended, but never erected, at Blenheim. Hawksmoor probably produced this design after the completion of the main block, but before the death of Lord Lempster in 1713. That was an event which put a stop to architectural developments at Easton Neston, for the new lord was then a minor and, when he grew to manhood, did not emulate his father’s building zeal, which Hawksmoor had kept alive with prolific ideas. Those did not stop at the forecourt, but included “outworks” on almost the same liberal scale as at Castle Howard. We still find standing, 350 yds. from the front door, composite gate-piers resembling those at Duncombe (Fig. 281) and at Bramham. Now they stand, alone and with no apparent object, in the middle of the vast park vista (Fig. 167). But, originally, the road to Northampton passed just beyond them, and the broken ground and scattered stonework that may be observed reaching to 70 yds. beyond them to the north implies an elaborate and extensive composition marking the entrance to a straight way up to the house.

On the east side lay formal gardens which the landscape school afterwards swept away. They, however, live again in new garb, having been re-created in stately and elaborate fashion by Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh, as seen in several of the illustrations. Hawksmoor, however, no more on the east than on the west, limited his lay-out to the immediate neighbourhood of the house. On either side the eye was to be carried far out in a *Le Nôtre* manner, the eastern line being punctuated by a great canal. To make it was no easy task. The main slope of the ground is from north to south, but from the house there is also a considerable eastward fall before ground low enough to obtain water is reached. The canal, therefore, could only be a distant object, and to be effective needed to be wide and long, calling for a quite prodigious embankment to support it on the south. That it is proportionate and thoroughly fulfils its object we can well see if we stand on the platform of the stairway from house to garden and note how the eye first dwells on the new formal garden and is then carried out over a stretch of park along the line of the tree-bordered canal and on to the high timbered lands in the far distance (Fig. 177).

What other features Hawksmoor may have devised to fill this very extensive canvas we do not know, but, from a letter that he afterwards wrote, we know that much that he planned was never performed. Of his exclusive authorship of all except the brick wings we have ample evidence. Colin Campbell—no particular friend of Hawksmoor’s—is not only explicit, but polite, when he tells us that Easton Neston—

is the ingenious Invention of Mr *Hawksmore*, to whom I am indebted for the Original Drawings of this Houfe and many other valuable Pieces for enriching the Work, which I could not in Gratitude conceal from the Publick.

Then we have the letter just referred to. In the summer of 1721 Hawksmoor had been staying at Castle Howard, and, on his journey back to London in the autumn, had visited several places, including Thoresby. Describing this, he then adds in a letter to Lord Carlisle :

We after this went to my Lord Pontfracts. The body of the house has some virtues, but is not quite finished ; the Wings are good for nothing. I had the honour to be concerned in the body of the house, it is beautifully and strongly built of durable stone, the Hall & the Ceremoneys are as much as can well be in so small a pavilion.

One can hardly avoyed loving ones own children. The situation and park is capable of much improvement, and it is much wanted and I am affrayed will continue so.

Hawksmoor's host had just been created Earl of Pomfret, but, evidently, was not in the mood for new works, and turned a deaf ear to Hawksmoor's proposals. The great forecourt remained a scrap of paper and the brick wings continued as first erected. They were indeed extensive, and possessed of much architectural character. They were planned not merely as long narrow lines, but as E-shaped buildings with returns at either end, thus affording considerable elevations to west and east. One of the illustrations (Fig. 175) shows the latter with its fine line of five tall double-transomed windows. The building beyond it, however, is not original, but is a tennis court of recent date. The surviving wing (Fig. 164) is so like that of Hawksmoor's plan in size and disposition that it suggests that he proposed not a re-building, but merely a re-casing and exterior re-modelling of what he considered was "good for nothing." The same is probably true of the other wing, which gave stable accommodation until, in the late eighteenth century, a new and larger stable



179.—THE ENTRANCE HALL.

Made out of "the little dining-room" (Fig. 13 E) and the first section of the hall (D).

quadrangle was built beyond the north wing and, therefore, much farther away from the house, as had by then become the fashion. Prints at that time show the house with its one wing rising stark from bare ground, that is, from the undulating lawns of the Landscape school. Now the one-sided effect produced by the single wing has been successfully overcome by the wall building and other forecourt features that are the most recent of Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh's alterations, and are well seen in Fig. 166. To the south, the land between the forecourt wall and the churchyard has been linked to the main formal gardens. From the house we descend into them by rectangular stairways that start from each side of a central platform (Fig. 171). A great paved expanse is set with formal beds and topiary objects (Fig. 176). It ends with the balustrade overlooking the great piece of water—a formal lake, rather than pool (Fig. 175). Its yew-hedged enclosure, set with terms, has wide openings, through which, across a long stretch of lawn broken by sets of steps, we see an old pedimented garden house that marks the beginning of a woodland where venerable oaks keep company with younger, yet large and stately, specimens of cypresses and conifers.



180.—THE SMOKING-ROOM (H on plan).



181.—THE LITTLE DRAWING-ROOM (J on plan.)

We have seen how Hawksmoor's son-in-law described him as being able to give an exact account of all the famous buildings, both ancient and modern, in every part of the world (page xxiii). By this, only classical and Renaissance architecture will have been meant. But his interest in old buildings and mediæval tradition is well shown by his letter to George Clarke of 1715 (page xlv). Although we see nothing of this in the design of Easton Neston, yet we do, curiously enough, find that its plan is an adaptation of that which prevailed in England through Plantagenet and Tudor times. In no respect had our Early Renaissance architects clung to native tradition so strongly and for so long as in the placing and contriving of their halls. Even great semi-classic houses, built under James I, such as Audley End and Hatfield, have the hall entered at the end from a "screens" passage, which, on its other side, had doors to offices. It was still usual to light such a hall from both sides, although at Hatfield there was the departure of running a gallery with loggia undercroft along one of its sides. We look upon Inigo Jones as introducing the newer and more Italian fashion of making the hall a large rectangular room, entered from a central doorway and backing against a saloon of similar proportions. Yet Inigo Jones' kinsman and pupil, John Webb, while adopting for Thorpe Hall a square, deep form of plan, still entered his hall at one end and then carried the "screens" passage as a sort of transverse gallery right through the house. That was in Commonwealth days; but with the Stuart restoration came the full Renaissance influence and the general adoption of the centrally-entered hall. Yet, if we compare the plans of Thorpe and of Easton Neston, we shall find a close relationship between them. Both are unbroken rectangles, but Easton Neston is much the larger, being about 110ft. long by 70ft. deep, whereas Thorpe, although as deep, is only 88ft. long by 74ft. deep. Each house has a central doorway opening into a gallery or corridor running through the house.

A screen shuts off the hall from it, staircases occupy the central section, and beyond that the corridor opens on each side into parlours before ending with a second window or doorway giving access to the garden. That is what we find in Hawksmoor's plan (Fig. 161); but, unfortunately, his arrangement has been a good deal modified. What it was like, however, we know exactly from the surviving model and from the description in Baker's "County History," published in 1836. He tells us of the hall that "the centre rises the height of two storeys and the sides of one only, forming vestibules or recesses." The old "screens" passage is represented by the northern of these "vestibules," and from it the main space, about 40ft. high, was entered—in the model—through a triple arcade that supported the solid wall above. That arrangement was exactly repeated at the south end. The central portion had two tiers of three windows to the west, while, to the east, there were three recesses or niches, the side ones arranged for statues, while the much larger central one accommodated the chimneypiece. For this the model shows a great bolection moulded fire-arch with picture panel above quite in the Hampton Court manner. That, however, became old-fashioned before the decorative touches were given to the house, and the more important mantelpiece that we still find was designed to take its place (Fig. 183). It is



182.—THE SALOON.

Made out of the central and originally two-storeyed section of the hall.



183.—THE SALOON CHIMNEYPIECE.



184.—A PANEL OF THE STAIRCASE BALUSTRADE.
The Lempster cipher in the centre shows that the date is not later than 1711.



185.—THE FIRST-FLOOR GALLERY.
It runs east and west through the centre of the house.

7ft. high and 13ft. across... Baker describes it as "of Egyptian marble," and in his time it was still standing in the coved recess. Already, at that date, however, the "vestibules" had been shut off and the room used as a dining-room. Later still, a new ceiling—repeating, in its cornice and nine-panel scheme, what we see in the model—was inserted at such height as admitted of the upper half being used for bedrooms (Fig. 182). Then, also, the north wall of the "vestibule" was removed, and the room that the plan calls the Little Dining-room was thrown into it, making an entrance hall. In it (Fig. 179) we find hanging part of a very fine set of Mortlake tapestries originally composed of ten pieces. We are told that Sir William Fermor acquired them after the death, in 1672, of the last Stuart Duke of Richmond. The third duke had married the daughter of the first Villiers Duke of Buckingham by his wife, the daughter and heiress of the sixth Earl of Rutland. As it is the Villiers arms impaling those of Manners that appear in the top border of the tapestries, they will have been woven for James I's favourite,



186.—THE STAIRCASE.

who, as we know, was, with Prince Charles, specially concerned in founding and employing the Mortlake factory, and who married a Manners heiress.

Passing along the entrance "vestibule," in front of you is seen the central window of the east elevation and the way out into the garden; while to the left is the deep section of the house which accommodates the great staircase (Fig. 186). Although the chief reception rooms are on the lower of the two lofty storeys, yet the upper one, having also some of its rooms 20ft. high, was



187.—THE GALLERY, LOOKING EAST.

chiaro oscuro by Sir James Thornhill; and in six niches are plaster casts of celebrated antique statues." The staircase itself is constructed in stone, with Tijou-like iron balustrading. Stone stairs with such balustrading reached England with William III, and at first went no farther than palaces, Wren having introduced them at Hampton Court and at Kensington. The one at Kensington will have been specially well known to Hawksmoor as clerk of the works. Such a scheme was evidently sympathetic to Vanbrugh, who used it not merely for his new-built houses, but even in those that he altered very slightly, such as Audley End, where he introduced a fine example (Fig. lxi). For Castle Howard and Blenheim they were designed one on each side of the hall, but none is quite so ample and dignified as the one at Easton Neston. Tijou himself may have produced the ironwork here, as at Chatsworth, but it is more likely to date from a little later than his time and be the produce of one of the capable band of Englishmen who carried on his style and his craftsmanship. In the centre of two or three of the panels we find the cipher and coronet of the first Lempster baron (Fig. 184), and this is repeated in the plasterwork of the barrel-shaped ceiling. It is a rich example of stuccowork that has departed from the Wren manner as executed by Doogood or Roberts, but has not reached the baroque extravagance of Artari and Bagutti, the favourite Italian stuccoists of the Burlingtonian school.

sufficiently part of the "ceremoneys" to demand a stately approach. Thus the staircase is given a space 40ft. long by 15ft. wide, and it is lit by the huge arch-headed window that is seen in the centre of the north elevation (Fig. 172). The treads, over 6ft. across, are 15ins. deep, with a 5in. rise. After sixteen of them we reach a quarter-landing, and after eleven more a half-landing 9ft. wide. Twenty-two more steps, with another quarter-landing in their midst, bring us to the top, and through the double doorway opposite the first-floor gallery is entered (Fig. 185). The walls of the staircase are, as Baker tells us, "ornamented with subjects from the life of King Cyrus in

The gallery is remarkably successful for so long a space lit only at the ends. It runs, as we have noted in describing the plan, at right angles to the staircase and across the house from east to west. The great sash windows that light it are rendered thoroughly proportionate by the size of the panes and the solidity of the sash-barring (Fig. 187). Its coved ceiling above the frieze and its scheme of panelling, broken by the fluted pilasters on each side of the central segmental break (Fig. 188), give great dignity to this somewhat original feature, which is not unlike the disposition of the central first-floor section of Compton Place,



188.—THE GALLERY APSE.

Eastbourne, which Colin Campbell contrived a score of years after Easton Neston was built. The finest first-floor rooms are more or less counterparts of those that lie on each side of the east end of the downstairs passage (Fig. 161 H and J). Such are the smoking-room and little drawing-room (Figs. 180 and 181). Both retain wall-linings and cornices of Hawksmoor's time, but other parts of the get-up, such as the chimneypieces, are later eighteenth-century introductions. Through the little drawing-room we reach the large south-east room, which, now that the great hall is arranged as a saloon, serves as a dining-room (K). Here, again, the cornice gives the impression of being of the date of Hawksmoor's original conception and design of the place, while the rest of the plasterwork will have been an addition by the first Earl of Pomfret. It may, of course, have been done upon Hawksmoor's advice, for he did not die until 1736, and was professionally engaged up to the last. But Baker mentions William Kent in respect of certain work done for the first earl, and the chimneypiece in this room (Fig. 192), composed of a mixture of Carrara with the marble called "black and gold," much affected by Kent at Houghton and elsewhere, may be from one of his more reticent designs. Nor is the wall scheme very different from that which Kent introduced for General Dormer in the Rousham drawing-room, and it may be by the same stuccoist. The probability is, however, that he was employed independently of any architect, for the scheme takes no account whatever of the doorways. They are simply



189.—THE CEILING OF THE DINING-ROOM.



190.—A WALL PANEL IN THE DINING-ROOM.

tiresome facts, which, while displacing, are not allowed to influence the size and design of the great stucco picture frames. Thus we see, to the right of the chimney-piece (Fig. 191), one of these great frames pushed up so high that its ribbon top breaks into the cornice line and yet does not give room for the trophy of implements which has to be set below it on a bare wall space. The general design is not unlike what we find in William Halfpenny's "Modern Builder's Assistant," published in George II's reign, and the whole scheme—apart from drapery festoons and floral scrolls—represents the chase. The central medallion of the ceiling (Fig. 189) is from Titian's "Venus and Adonis," while the elaborate wall frames have trophies of implements above and the mask of an animal below each of the pictures of sporting scenes by Snyders and Hondius (Fig. 190).

Thus, whereas the double "L's" of the staircase stucco mark a date previous to 1711, that of the dining-room may well be twenty years later. Thomas Fermor, a lad of fourteen when he



191.—THE DINING-ROOM.
Formerly the drawing-room (κ on plan).



192.—THE DINING-ROOM CHIMNEYPiece.

became the second Lord Lempster, married, soon after he came of age, a lady who fills a large page in the gossiping chronicles of the eighteenth century. Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys was granddaughter to the Welsh lawyer whom Charles II (while describing him as having "no learning, no sense, no manners, and more impudence than ten carted street-walkers") placed on the judicial bench, and so enabled him, under James II, to earn a high place among the villains of our history. Shortly after the Fermor-Jeffreys marriage in 1720 the step in the peerage was obtained. The new Earl and Countess of Pomfret were appointed, by Sir Robert Walpole, Queen Caroline's Master of the Horse and Lady of the Bedchamber. They were among young Horace Walpole's earliest friends, and even in 1736, before he was of age, he wrote about Easton Neston to George Montagu. He exercises his youthful wit on the collection of antique marbles that he finds there: "In an old greenhouse is a wonderful fine statue of Tully haranguing a numerous assembly of decayed emperors, vestal virgins with new noses, Colossus's, Venus's, headless carcasses and carcaseless heads, pieces of tombs and hieroglyphics." A large part of the collection of antique marbles formed by the Earl of Arundel in James I's time had been purchased in Charles II's time by the builder of Easton Neston, and some of the statues we see rising from the plinths of the roof parapet in Hawksmoor's elevation (Fig. 163). They, however, were only a few among many. Thus, in 1712, John Morton tells us that "the garden is richly adorned with antique statues and with other valuable pieces of ancient sculpture: a Collection of vast Value, being all the more ornamental part of the *Marmora Arundeliana*." The "new nosing" was by no means complete on the occasion of Walpole's visit. But half a dozen years later many more of the "headless carcasses" had been treated. In the interval, the Pomfrets and also Horace Walpole had been to Italy and made that considerable sojourn in Florence which, in Walpole's case, led to the life-long friendship with Horace Mann. It was after the return of the Pomfrets to England in 1741 that they employed a restorer, in the person of Giovanni Batista Guelfi, who had been a pupil of Rusconi, to whom Thomas Coke at Holkham had entrusted the re-heading of his famous Diana. Twelve years later the earl died, leaving a widow with a good jointure as well as a fortune of her own. But the son, already deep in debt, was eager to raise money on any property and effects that were not settled. The *Marmora Arundeliana* were among these, and the dowager bought them. They did not form the whole of the collection that the Arundel earls had possessed, some of them having been, at Evelyn's suggestion, given to the University of Oxford. It was with the object of re-uniting the scattered collection by a gift to the University that Lady Pomfret made the purchase from her son. Thus, in 1756, Horace Walpole writes: "she has been to Oxford to the Public Act to receive adoration. A box was built for her near the Vice-Chancellor, where she sat three days together for four hours at a time to hear verses and speeches and hear herself called Minerva." In due course the statues on the Easton Neston parapet were replaced by lions and urns. The impecunious second earl recovered himself by marrying an heiress in 1764. Later on his son followed his example, so that Easton Neston continued to be the home of wealthy people and remained well cared for until, with the death of the bachelor fifth earl in 1867, the title became extinct and the estates passed to his sister. It was at his own ancient Lancashire seat that her husband, Sir Thomas Hesketh, was born and died. If that meant some abandonment of Easton Neston for a time, it was none the less cared for. Nevertheless, the first Hesketh owner's grandson, the present baronet, has found abundant scope for the exercise of his ingenuity and good taste in a scheme of renovation that gives a modern touch of comfort and convenience while preserving the spirit of Hawksmoor's creation.



193.—THE TOMB OF SIR GEORGE FERMORE.

CHAPTER V

KINGS WESTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

VANBRUGH designed Kings Weston for Sir Edward Southwell, about 1710, on rising ground that overlooks Avonmouth, the Bristol Channel and the Welsh hills to the west. The interior was, probably, not complete by 1720, nor the outbuildings by 1726, when Vanbrugh died. Much of the interior, notably the hall, was remodelled in the middle of the eighteenth century, and at about the same time the grounds were deformed and replanted to form a more picturesque prospect down the hill to the Channel, in the middle distance, and the blue distant mountains. During the latter half of the century this landscape was one of the most celebrated in the country. Mrs. Delany was enraptured by it, and the Prince de Ligne, who combined a military career with a passion for landscape gardening on the Continent, was deeply moved by it during his hasty tour of England. After criticising more or less adversely Badminton, Ken Wood and Pope's garden at Twickenham, he exclaimed :

Mais qu'y a-t-il de plus beau que Kings Westen et la vue du fleuve Hersan et de tout le pays de Galles ? Qu'y a-t-il de plus superbe que Windsor ? quelle majesté ! quelle belle nature ! quelle grace dans toutes les eaux qui entrecourent des terrains immenses !

The prospect is, indeed, magnificent (or was till the development of Avonmouth as a port). It naturally composes itself into such a landscape as Claude had educated the eighteenth-century eye to appreciate. One Jones, who wrote a descriptive poem on Clifton and its vicinity, directly compared it to pictures of an ideal landscape :

Kings Weston there, delightful varied scene,
The Muse enjoys and reigns a raptured queen,
With throbbing bosom and extatic eye . . .
Where each bright beauty spreads its tints abroad
In all the splendours of thy pencil, *Claude* !



194.—THE ENTRANCE FAÇADE, FROM THE SOUTH.

The imaginative handling of the chimneys provides a simple yet effective climax.



195.—THE CHIMNEY ARCADING, FROM THE SOUTH.



196.—THE EASTERN FAÇADE, WHICH LOOKS UP TO THE LOGGIA.



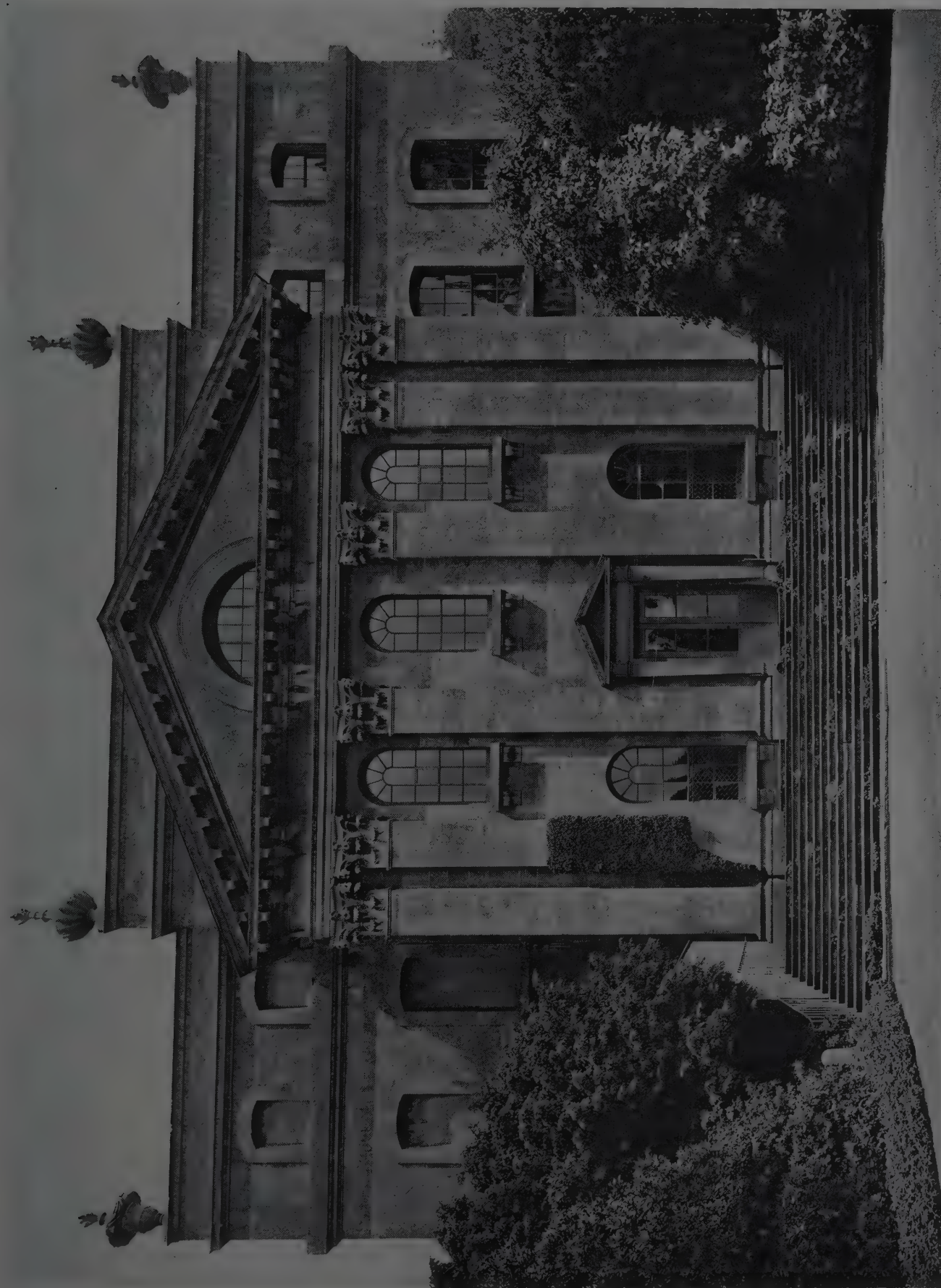
197.—THE BANQUETING LOGGIA FACING THE EAST FRONT.

And noticed, particularly in "the vale incult," that formed the foreground sloping to the water—

incidents above *Sal-*
vator's hand
Of ocean, air, of forest, sky
and land.

With Blaise Castle, which had, as early as 1779, been finished in the Gothic taste by a Bristol magnate, and was to allure, with its suspected ghosts and secret passages, the romantic Catharine Morland in "Northanger Abbey," Kings Weston was one of the sights for visitors to Bath.

But the place has more particular interest for the student of Vanbrugh's architecture and methods. The actual building is one of the smallest that he engaged on, but has all his individuality. The "banqueting loggia" (Fig. 197), the stables and the garden houses (Fig. 206) show him in an uncommon domestic mood. Some of the out-buildings, too, are in the castellated style that he was affecting at Castle Howard (Figs. 87, 88, and 89) when Kings Weston was being built. There is also preserved here a folio volume labelled "Designs by Sir John Vanbrugh" for the house. In view of the scarcity of any drawings from his hand, or even from his office, the student opens the book with considerable excitement. On closer examination, however, it becomes extremely



198.—THE ENTRANCE AND ENGAGED PORTICO.



199.—THE STAIRCASE, FROM THE UPPER LANDING.



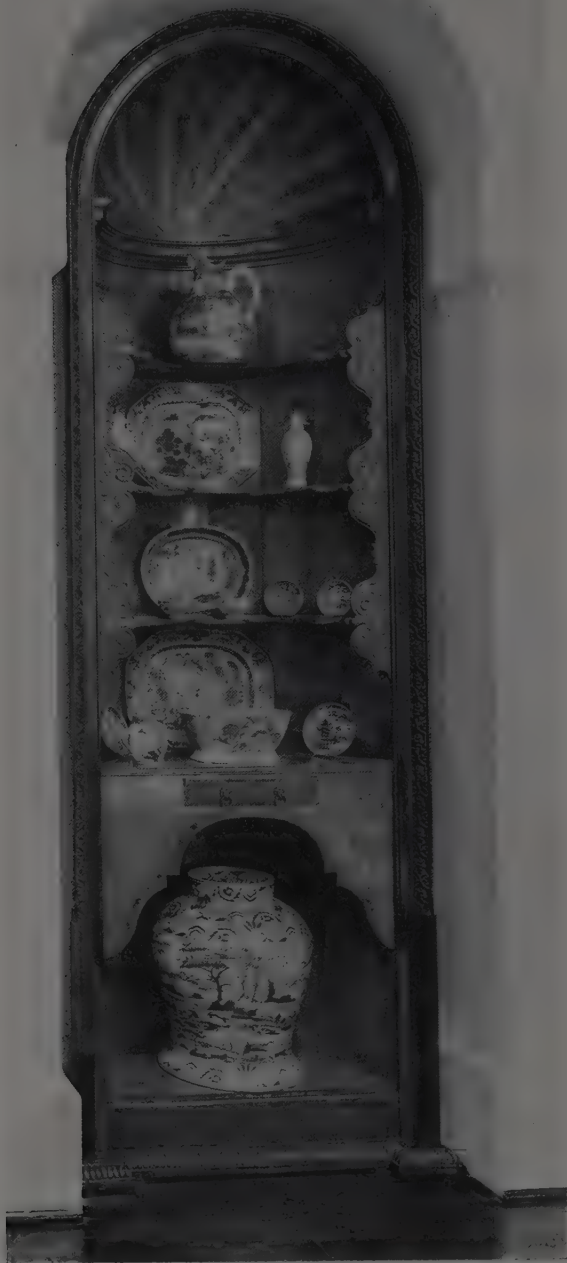
200.—THE STAIRCASE, SUPPORTED ONLY AT ITS OUTER ANGLES.

doubtful whether any of the drawings were actually from his hand. A letter from Vanbrugh at Castle Howard, dated October 23rd, 1713, shows that the walls were up at that date, but the roof not yet on. But there are no drawings for the exterior of the house other than a set of tracings and plans, and no dated drawings relating to it earlier than 1716. On the other hand, there are a number of detailed elevations for doorways, chimneypieces and a great forecourt, on which it is noted that they are "Sir John Vanbrugh's," and in the case of one of the chimneypieces (Fig. 220), "at Sir John Vanbrugh's" house, possibly his "castle" (page 187). There is a drawing by Colin Campbell for a gateway with a chamber over; various drawings by "Mr. Price" of Wandsworth and George Townsend, called here a Freemason of Oxfordshire; a number of Vanbrugian designs for houses in the neighbourhood; an ale-house and various buildings, some of them stables, for Kings Weston; besides a number of miscellaneous "drafts." Townsend was, clearly, the master mason, and is shown to be the same man who worked for Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor in Oxford and at Blenheim (page 71) 1708-12, by a letter of the former to the Duchess of Marlborough dated September 27th, 1716. In it she was asked to



201.—THE HALL AS REDECORATED TO CONTAIN THE PICTURES, circa 1755.
Over the door is Edward Southwell II, who married Lady Catharine Watson and eventually inherited this collection of Tufton and Watson family portraits.

speak "with Mr. Townsend (who did Mr. Southwell's Masonry)." The absence of working drawings or projects for the house, combined with the impression given by the remainder of the collection, suggests that Sir Edward Southwell himself became an amateur architect with the experience gained from the building of the house

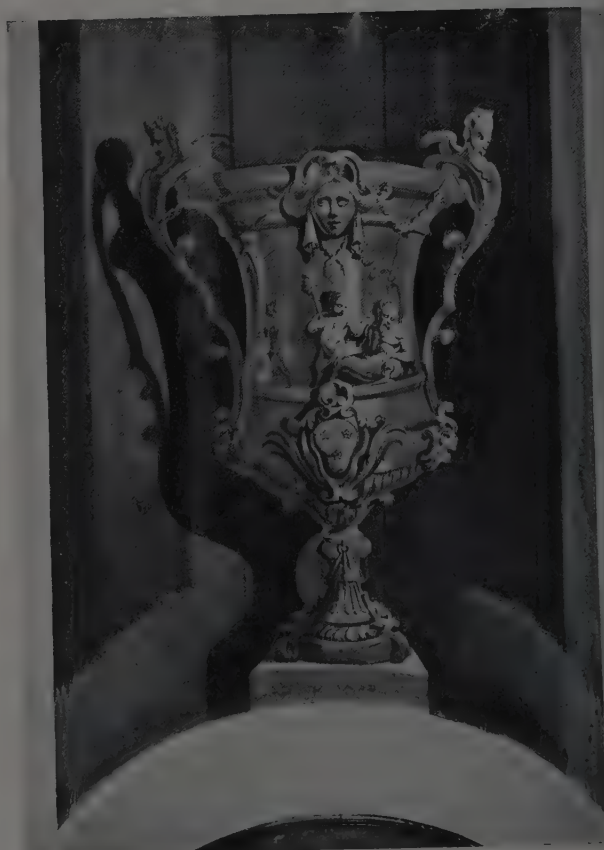


202.—NICHE IN THE STAIRCASE HALL.
Compare example at Oulton (Fig. 317).

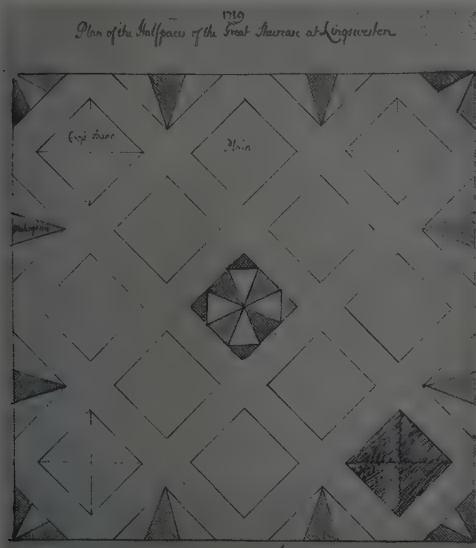
and from Vanbrugh's society. If so, these drawings will be, for the most part, projects that he had made out or sketched himself, chiefly for his own amusement. The working drawings and even the projects for the house must either have been mislaid, have remained with Townsend, or perished.



203.—A PAINTED URN IN A NICHE IN THE STAIRCASE HALL.



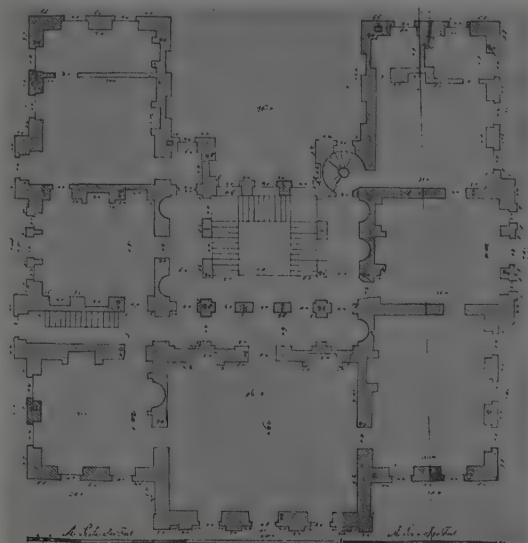
204.—URN PAINTED ON A FLAT SURFACE TO REPRESENT A NICHE OVER A DOOR. STAIRCASE HALL.



205 (LEFT). — EXECUTED DESIGN FOR THE PARQUET OF A QUARTER - LANDING OF THE STAIRCASE. DATED 1719.

The dark triangles at the edges are of "mohogany."

205A (RIGHT). — ORIGINAL PLAN. DRAWING-ROOM TO LEFT, DINING-ROOM TO RIGHT OF HALL.



Sir Edward Southwell was just the kind of man who at that time took up architecture seriously. He had been carefully educated by his father, Sir Robert, and a letter to the latter from Sir William Petty suggests that drawing was part of his regimen: "I say cram into him some Lattin, some mathematiks, some drawing, some law . . . then let Nature work." Sir Robert, the father, came of a Norfolk family, settled in Ireland during James I's reign, and possessed of estates in Kinsale. He had a distinguished diplomatic career under Charles II, and purchased Kings Weston in 1679, whither he retired from 1680 till 1690, amusing himself with improving the garden drawn by Kip (Fig. 219A) and in correspondence with John Evelyn. At the Revolution he re-entered public life, being made principal Secretary of State for Ireland in 1690, and in the same year president of the Royal Society. He died in 1702, and is commemorated in Henbury Church by a monument of which the book of drawings contains a draft and the information that it was designed



206.—STABLES AND GARDEN HOUSES, FROM THE KITCHEN GARDEN TERRACE.

by Sir Henry Cheere ("Sheers") and executed by Grinling Gibbons. His son Edward was aged thirty-one when his father died. He was then known as *doctissimus juvenis*, and was a clerk of the Privy Council, a member of the Irish bar, represented Rye in the English Parliament in 1707, and succeeded his father as Secretary for Ireland. It is probably to his seat in Parliament, which he occupied till about 1714, that we owe his closer association with his English property and the consequent re-building of Kings Weston during this phase.

As its name implies, Kings Weston was, anciently, part of the Royal demesne of Berkeley, which was granted by Henry II to Robert Fitzharding, ancestor of the Berkeley family. This portion was alienated by marriage, but was purchased again by a Berkeley in Edward III's reign. Probably during the Tudor period the house seen by Kip was built, a U-shaped building on the site of the present one, which conforms to the original plan. When, in 1568, the property was sold to Sir Edward Wintour, alterations appear to have been made. Subsequently it was bought by Humphrey Hook of Bristol, whose son sold it to Sir Robert Southwell. Nothing remains of the old building, and only a red brick laundry or dairy, masked by the loggia (Fig. 209), can be attributed to Sir Robert. Kip, however, shows a charming orangery of his period and an elaborate garden, the latter being, most likely, retained when the house was re-built. At the east end of it, on rising ground overlooking the house and landscape, Vanbrugh designed the rusticated loggia shown in Fig. 197. There is a design in his style for the pedestal of a Hercules, from the same workshops, no doubt (Van Nost's), as the statues he disposed freely about the gardens of Castle Howard and Seaton Delaval, besides rougher drawings for other garden ornaments. The other loggia (Fig. 209) stands at the north end of the terrace that runs along the west front of the house. There are three variants for this among the drawings, that adopted (Fig. 208) being the only one to include columns and a lunette in the pediment. The statue and urns of the latter, never put up, are sketched in with a brush, much as Vanbrugh would have done them, though it is more likely Southwell put them in to see what they would look like. The whole composition, particularly the lunette, is characteristic of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh, particularly of the former.

Though the old U-shaped plan was retained for the new house, the south front was made the principal elevation, with a backyard on the site of the old forecourt. The west side is simple, except for a three-sided bow rising its full height, and the east front (Fig. 196), looking up the sloping garden, is equally plain but for a projection in the centre with a heavily rusticated feature containing three windows beneath a pediment at its base. The entrance façade (Fig. 194) has an engaged portico of Corinthian pilasters with Vanbrugh's characteristic lunette in the pediment. The doorway is flanked by pilasters diminishing towards the base. A highly satisfying design is crowned by the arcaded chimney stacks. These (Fig. 195) form a three-sided feature on the roof above the centre of each façade, and are a typically Vanbrughian touch. Vanbrugh, unlike other architects of the period, made a point of emphasising his skylines. In his bigger designs the roofs rise in dramatic towers and tiers. Here he had only chimneys with which to work. The Palladian architects got no ideas from Italian designs of how to treat the chimneys that are an essential feature of English houses. Consequently, they either concealed them as best they could, or tended to ignore them and let them crop up haphazard. Vanbrugh's instinct for the picturesque and dramatic, on the contrary, seized on the potentialities of chimneys. At the end of the century Uvedale Price and the enthusiasts of the Picturesque were particularly impressed by his skyline designs, and considered the linking of stacks by arches the best manner of treating them. As a result the method had considerable popularity with early nineteenth century architects, and Kings Weston may be taken as the chief source of the idea.

As luck has it, the only Vanbrugh letter we have found referring to Kings Weston deals with this very part of the design, and shows how carefully the chimneys were considered. It also confirms Southwell as at least having views of his own on architecture :

Castle Howard,

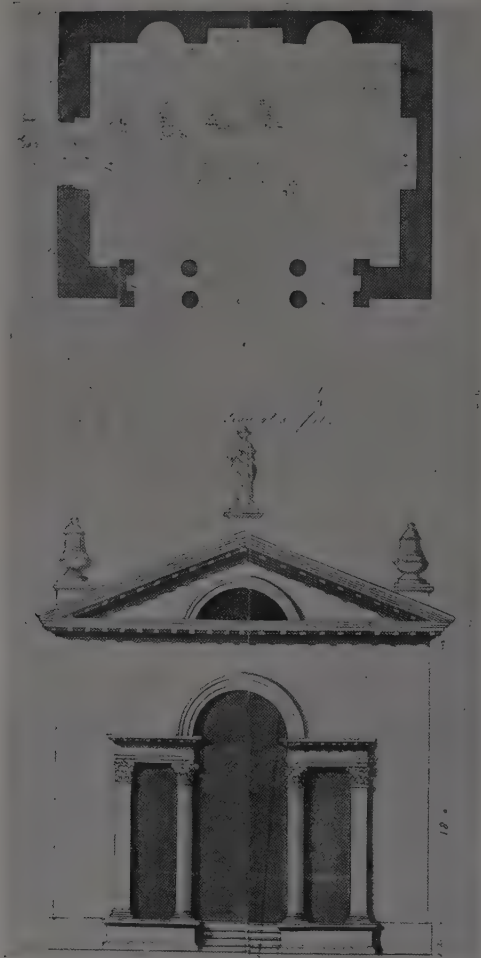
Oct. 23, 1713.

. . . In my last I told you I wished you would not go up with the chimneys till I was with you on the spot, to make tryall of the heights with boards. I am glad to find you now of the same opinion tho' you had not received my letter, —for I would fain have that part rightly hit off.

As to the objections you mention, I can only say, I cannot think as you do, though it may be I am wrong. As to the Door being too little, if an alteration be necessary I can show you how to do it ; but in these particulars tis better to talk than write. I hope however at last I shall see you as well pleased as the Lord of this place. . . .



207.—THE SQUARE POOL ENCLOSED BY WALLED TERRACES ADJOINING THE KITCHEN GARDEN AND FACED BY THE STABLES.



208. — FINAL DESIGN FOR THE LOGGIA (FIG. 209).



209. — LOGGIA AT THE NORTH END OF THE TERRACE BELOW THE WEST FRONT.

What Southwell's objections were do not transpire. Possibly, they may have related to draughts, for Vanbrugh goes on to expatiate on the complete air-tightness of Castle Howard: "every corner is an oven and in corridors 200 feet long there is not air enough in motion to stir the flame of a candle."

The great staircase (Figs. 199 and 200) is the portion of the interior least altered, though it differs radically from the arrangement suggested in the plan (Fig. 205A). There, a cloister was formed round the central space by a three-sided arcade, and the north (window) wall carried the middle flight of the stairs. As executed, the cloister arcade was eliminated, the north wall was pushed out to form a continuous façade on the court, and the staircase was left hanging in the air, supported only at its angles by four great piers, the survivors of the projected arcade. As made, the staircase is a superb piece of carpentry. It can be dated pretty accurately 1719-20, since a drawing survives for the parquetry "of the half paces of the great staircase" (Fig. 205) with that date. The walls are arcaded and the niches are, many of them, filled with grisaille paintings (Figs. 203 and 204) representing urns and statues. This was a decoration favoured by both Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor. The hall at Grimsthorpe and the staircase at Easton Neston have similar grisaille panels, while the hall at Seaton Delaval has real figures in the niches. And from those houses we can safely deduce that the remainder of the wall here was originally unpainted, showing its fine masonry.

The hall (Fig. 201) was entirely redecorated in order to accommodate the inherited series of Tufton and Rockingham portraits that are its chief feature. In 1729 Edward Southwell II, son of the builder, had married Catharine Watson, the sister and co-heiress of the third Earl of Rockingham (died 1745). She died 1765, and was the granddaughter of the sixth Earl of Thanet, who, through his grandmother, the famous Lady Anne Clifford, was Lord Clifford. He had died in 1729 leaving the Clifford title in abeyance, till it was revived in favour of a surviving daughter, who was the wife of the Earl of Leicester, and died in 1775. Edward Southwell III then became

heir to the title, and adopted it in 1776, dying, however, in the following year and leaving a son aged ten years. The present owner's grandfather bought Kings Weston from the executors of Lord de Clifford in 1836. The pictures would seem to have come to Kings Weston in 1745 on the death of Lord Rockingham, and to have remained unused till 1755, when Edward Southwell III succeeded his father and began extensive reforms both inside and outside the house. It is to his landscaping of the grounds and "refinement" of the interior that the lines in Jones's poem appear to refer :

With Southwell soaring on the mark of taste,
Whose classic eye each erring stroke shall scan,
Reform the model and improve the plan.
To simple majesty reduce the pile
And bid discretion through the garden smile.

For the original appearance of the hall we have only two pieces of evidence. The ceiling looks as if it was Vanbrugh's, resembling that of the hall at Grimsthorpe. And the plan shows that the present chimneypiece was placed where the door had been, and the doors where a pair of chimneypieces used to be. Charming as the decoration is (the walls are mauve, the mouldings white), the delicate modelling of the plasterwork is too slight for so large a space. It wants some of Vanbrugh's massiveness in door-cases, string-courses and fireplace. The other rooms were all reduced to "simple majesty" either at this time or in the thirties of last century. Several fragments of carved woodwork in the style of Gibbons suggest that the master may have worked for the house as well as executing Robert Southwell's memorial in the church.

It is not certain whether the absence of the forecourt projected by Vanbrugh in February, 1717-18, is owing to its never having been built or to Edward Southwell III's discretionary zeal. No representations of the buildings show it in existence, so, probably, it was never put up. Apparently, the forecourt was to have been surrounded by a 2ft. 6in. wall, with a "fosse" or ha-ha outside and below it (Fig. 211). Opposite the front entrance was to have been a



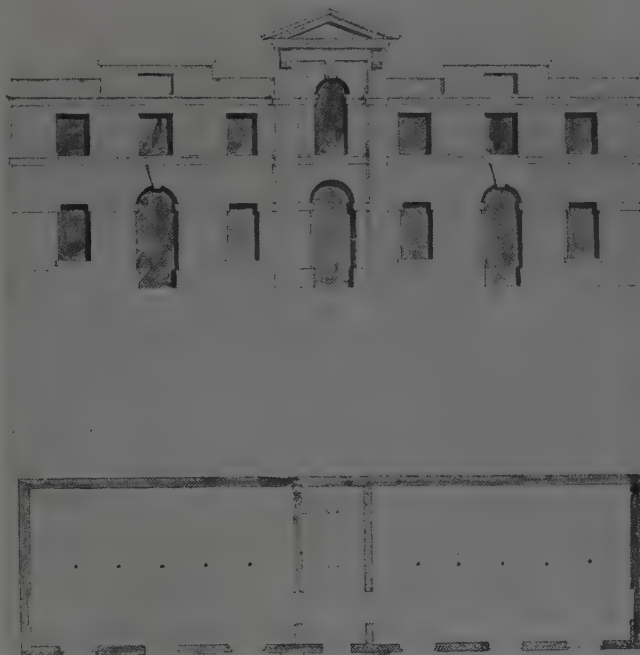
210.—THE BREW-HOUSE, WITH A CORNICE OF "MACHICOLATIONS."

connection with several other drawings, made out a design for the stables (Fig. 212), which is markedly Vanbrughian. An interesting detail is the "shouldering" of the ground-floor windows by the string-course, rather in the manner of a fourteenth-century window. Whoever Price was—and the only hint we get from the drawings is that he was "of Wandsworth"—he was, clearly, an admirer of Vanbrugh, though there is no evidence of any closer relationship. Conceivably, he was Francis Price, "Surveyor to the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, and Author of a Series of Observations on that admirable Structure," as the title page of his other book, "The British Carpenter," which ran through many editions in the middle of the century, informs us. Duties at Salisbury would at least account for his presence in the West Country and for his evident interest in Gothic. There is a strong family likeness between the stable design and a number of other fantastic projects for buildings of uncertain purpose (Figs. 215 to 217). The technique

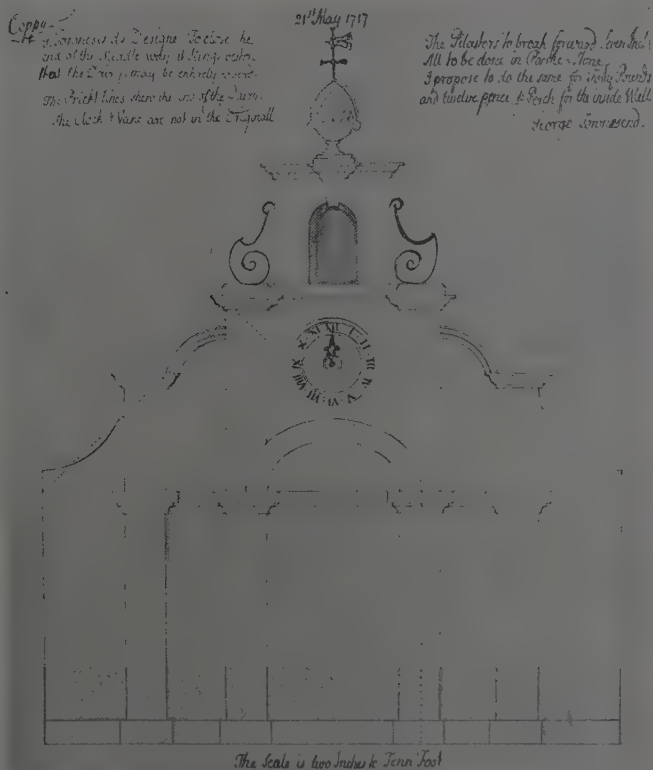
of the drawings is similar, and there is in each the same Gothic tendency. Moreover, the handwriting giving the scale is, apparently, the same in each case. Bizarre as these designs are, they represent effectively the influence that Vanbrugh exerted on architecture in his own lifetime, though this became more noticeable a century later. If the Kings Weston drawings had been made out by Francis Goodwin, P. F. Robinson or one of the "Picturesque" architects of the early nineteenth century, they would be less unexpected. But here is Price—or someone else—in 1720, making designs such as Goodwin and his fellows actually executed a century later: designing irregular masses, adapted to form curious combinations of light and shade, but made up of classic features. That this logical outcome of Vanbrugh's method was postponed for a century, and that Price with, as we shall see, Sir Edward Southwell himself, are nothing more than architectural curiosities is owing to the Palladian movement gaining great strength under Burlington at this very time. Indeed, Burlington's chief lieutenant, Colin Campbell, is actually represented at Kings Weston by a design for a gateway dated 1723. The time was not yet ripe for the picturesque and romantic, though here and there men were to be found, like Southwell, who preferred the massive rudeness of the Middle Ages to the logic of Vicenza.

The false dawn of the Gothic revival, represented in the Castle Howard outworks, at Greenwich and All Souls College, by Vanbrugh's and Hawksmoor's executed work, appears in one building and several drawings at Kings Weston. The building is the brew-house

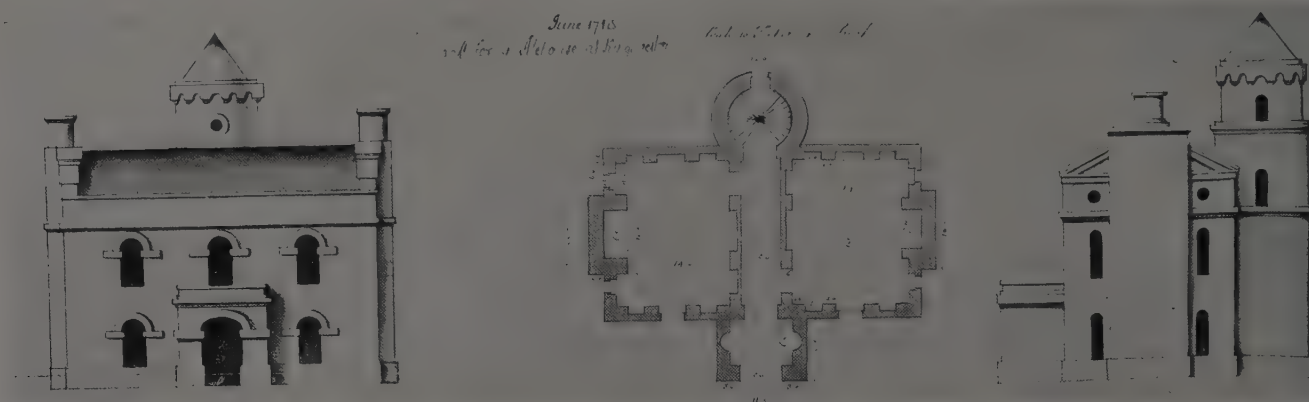
1720
Design for Stables at Kingsweston
By Mr Price



212.—PROJECT FOR THE STABLES BY "MR. PRICE," 1720.



213.—SUGGESTED TERMINAL FEATURE FOR A GARDEN WALK. MAY, 1717, BY GEORGE TOWNSEND, THE CONTRACTING MASON.



214.—ELEVATION, PLAN AND PROFILE OF A PROJECTED ALE-HOUSE. JUNE, 1718.



215.—A PROJECT, POSSIBLY FOR THE STABLES.



216.—A VARIANT OF FIG. 215.

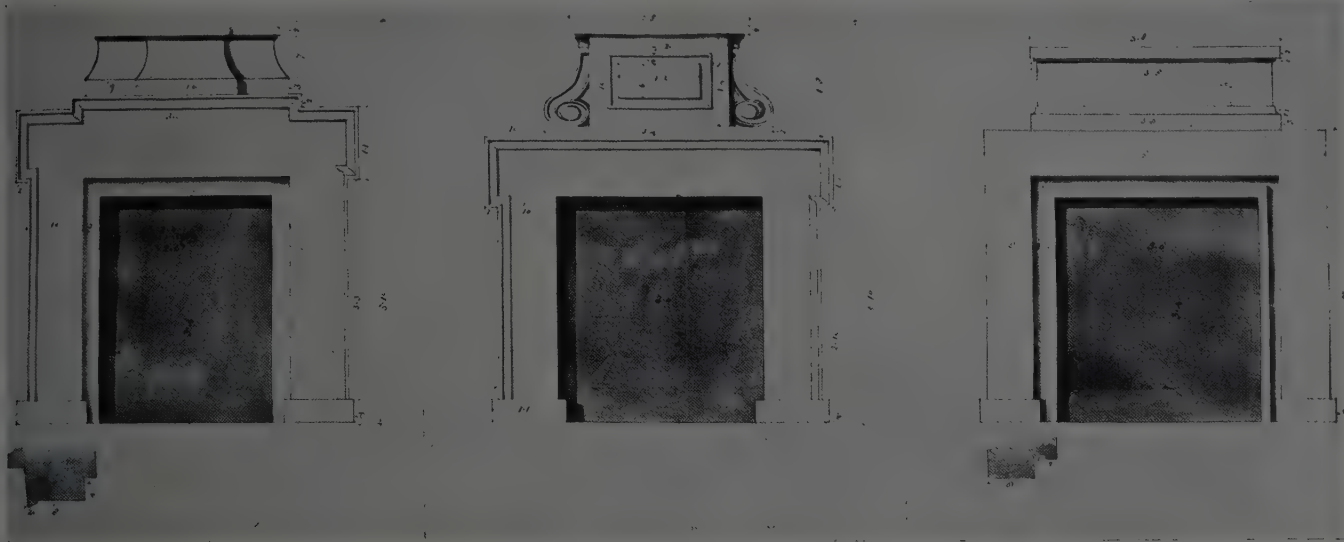


217.—ELEVATION OF A FOUR-ROOMED HOUSE.

(Fig. 210), and the most representative drawings are those for the ale-house (Figs. 214 and 218). The existing inn closely resembles the project given in Fig. 218, in which Vanbrugh has been translated into the terms of a cottage. The more ambitious scheme, dated June, 1718 (Fig. 214), is perhaps by Vanbrugh himself. The grouping of the end elevation is essentially picturesque in intention—with its machicolated tower, chimney-breast and pedimented gable. Identical machicolations and arched windows were given to the brew-house. There is an obvious relation of these designs to Vanbrugh's own castle at Greenwich (Fig. 268).

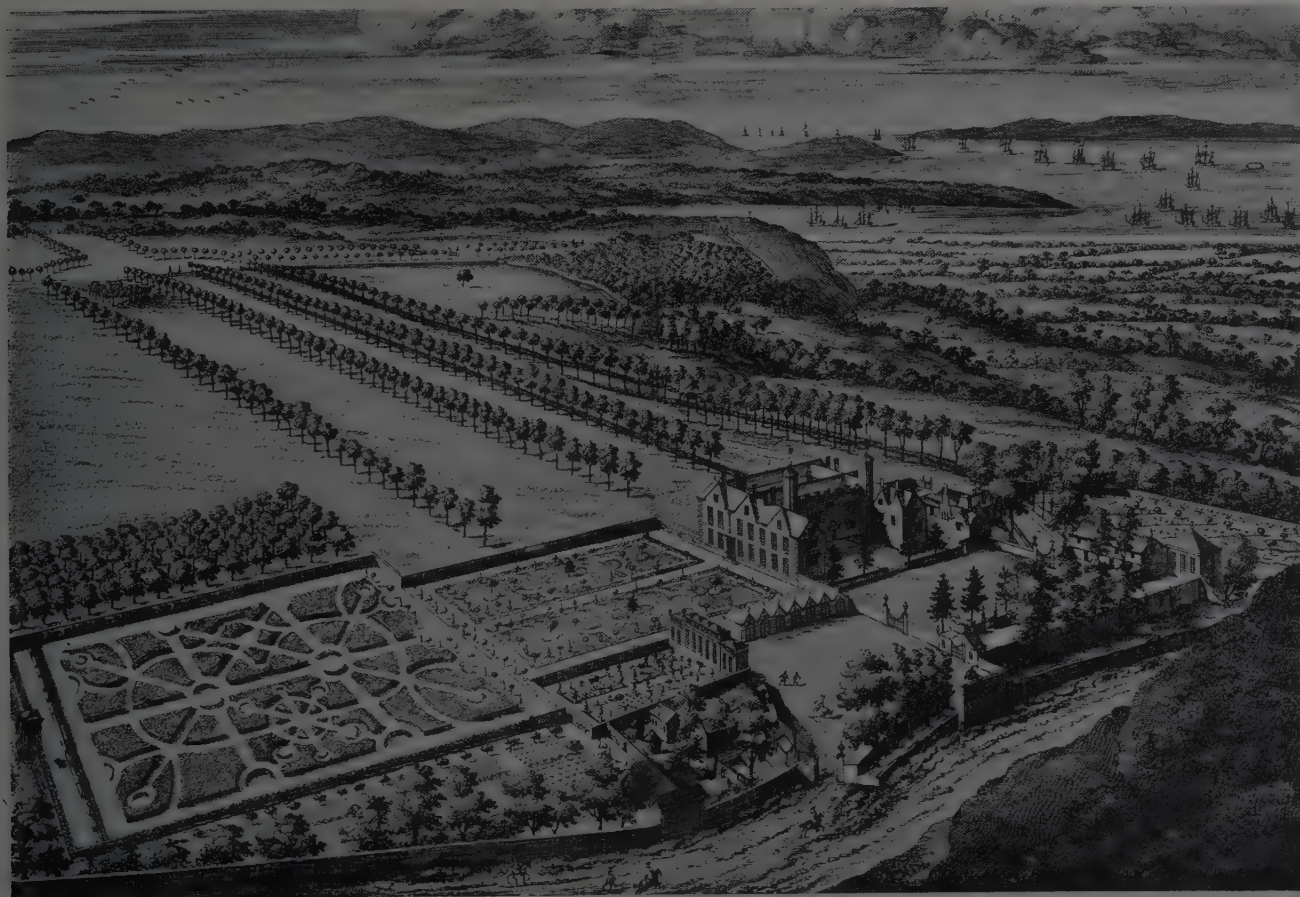


218.—DESIGNS FOR THE INN, OR ALE-HOUSE, MUCH AS EXECUTED.



219.—DESIGNS FOR CHIMNEYPICES.

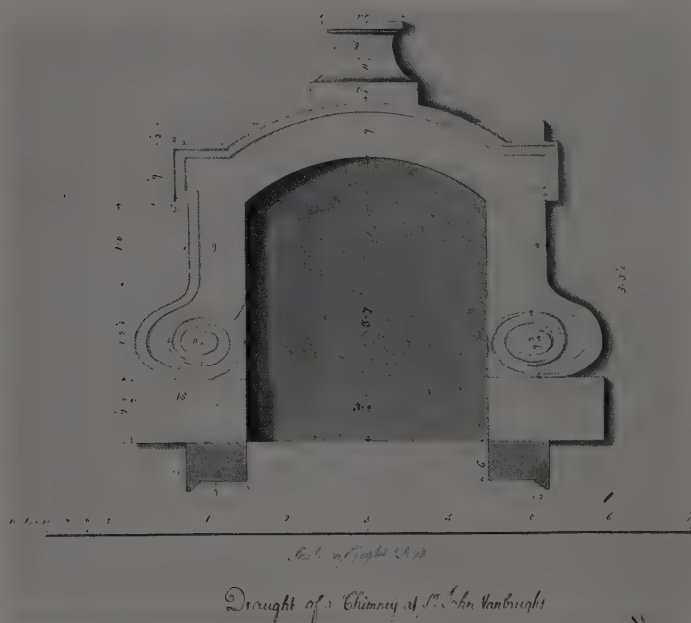
One of the most curious characteristics of the Vanbrugh-Hawksmoor partnership is its failure to found a school. As already pointed out in the Introduction, the ideas that the two men introduced into English architecture were to some extent adopted by Kent, notably in his massive solidity and his system of landscape gardening. Up and down the country we find country and town houses, dating from 1720 to 1730, in which the Orders are used on Vanbrugh's scale. But, apart from these traces and the tendency to Gothicism the influence of the two great architects was entirely counteracted by the Palladianism of Campbell, Gibbs, Flitcroft and the rest. In Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, however, Vanbrugh's style was to some extent perpetuated. In Yorkshire, the "gentlemen possessed with the spirit of building" were influenced by Castle Howard, and in Gloucestershire his massiveness coalesced with the local tradition of sound, simple building, producing numerous medium-sized houses that show traces of Eastbury and Kings Weston. The drawings preserved at the latter place throw



219A.—KIP'S VIEW OF KINGS WESTON, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

some light on how this survival came about. Among them are several for small country houses. Dated 1717 is an elevation of a house at Charleton in Somerset, named "Wheeldon Down, by Prior's Wood" (Frampton, page 258), in which the features are Vanbrughian, particularly the arched chimney stacks. An alternative scheme provided a square central block with lateral wings and a forecourt, the façade recalling that of Shotover. Another project, dated 1720, is for a house at Henbury "for Mr. Fane," while a set of plans for a Bristol merchant's house is accompanied by a shrewd and entertaining analysis of the requirements of a merchant's household. The latter will date from about 1725, in which year the land involved was let to a certain Colonel Yate. In 1717-18 a design for a chimneypiece was sent "from E. Southwell to Colonel Yate." Whether the later plans were by Southwell himself or by a more experienced architect there is no means of knowing. But the group, as a whole, appears to have been drawn by the same hand, is intimately connected with Southwell, and shows a strong Vanbrugh influence in the designs of the elevations.

Two drawings suggest that Southwell interested himself in the buildings at Eastbury. One is a rough elevation, in pen and wash, of "Mr. Doddington's Garden front," of which only half is preserved (Fig. 256). The other is a plan for an octagonal church, manifestly derived from the chapel at Eastbury, accommodated by Vanbrugh in one of the octagons, surmounted by a pointed roof, on which the side courts were centred in that building. Thus, although "Sir John Vanbrugh's Designs for Kings Weston" do not shed much light on his methods or quality of draughtsmanship, they do confirm the existence of a local Vanbrugh "school."



220.—"DRAUGHT OF A CHIMNEY AT S' JOHN VANBRUGHS."

CHAPTER VI

STOWE HOUSE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

THE Stowe of the Grenvilles, Earls Temple and Dukes of Buckingham, which, in large measure, survives as a public school, differed a good deal in size and character from the Stowe that was developed, if not created, by Vanbrugh's friend, Lord Cobham. As Sir Richard Temple, he had, on his father's death in 1697, succeeded to the large estate lying north of Buckingham town which had belonged to the family since Tudor days. Sir Richard's character and achievements are succinctly told on the base of a column, 115ft. high, that was designed by James Gibbs and erected in the park "with a statue of his Lordship on the summit." On a tablet at its base we read in Latin that the pillar was dedicated—

To Richard Viscount Cobham, Field Marshall of the British Armies ; who in camp and council served the State and by a more elegant Cult of Gardens, in this spot first illustrated, adorned the land.

Below the inscription appears the date 1747, which is two years before Cobham's death, but whether he or his successor was the author of the inscription does not appear. His military career had begun early, for, in 1685, at the age of ten, he had become an ensign in Prince George of Denmark's regiment. Seventeen years later we find him colonel of one of the new regiments raised for the war with France which made Marlborough's name famous. In 1708 he so distinguished himself at the siege of Lille that he was chosen to carry the news of its capitulation to the Secretary of State. He was a major-general when the Harley-Bolingbroke Ministry dismissed Marlborough and ended the war. That will have given Temple the opportunity of forging his sword into a spade. By George I, indeed, he was made Lord Cobham and sent on a mission to Vienna in 1714. But he was essentially a man of leisure from 1710 onwards, and



221.—THE NORTH, OR ENTRANCE, FRONT AS IT IS.



222.—THE NORTH FRONT AS IN 1739.
The equestrian statue of George I is in the foreground.

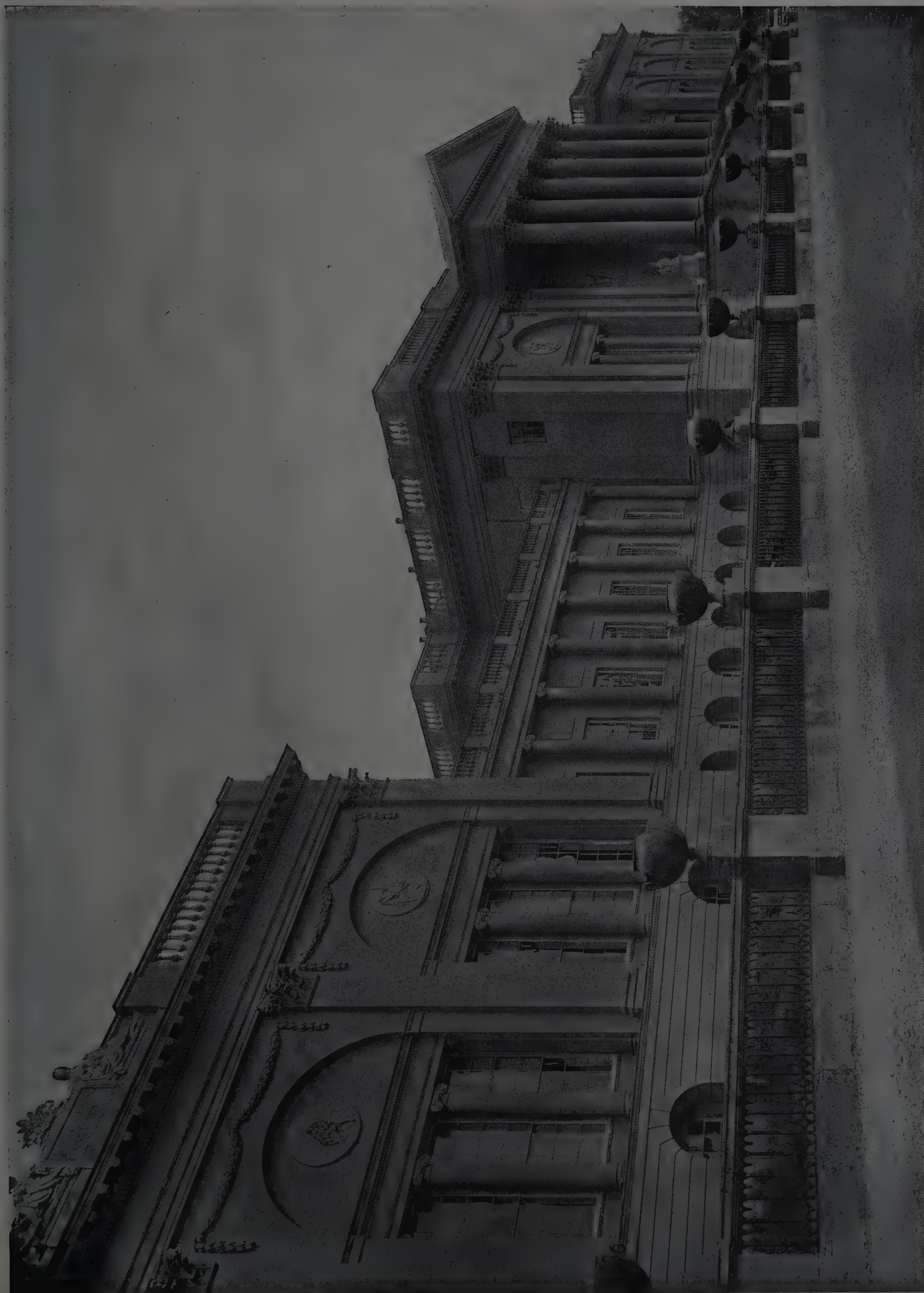


223.—THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE HOUSE IN 1739.
It formed the close of a great formal vista with natural incidents behind its topiary screen.

was Bridgeman, and to Bridgeman its gardens are assigned in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" (Fig. 264) which gives Vanbrugh as architect only. But as the general conception and most of the details of the Eastbury lay-out savour strongly of those at Castle Howard, Blenheim and Claremont, it is fair to infer that, at Eastbury and Stowe, Vanbrugh, if he did not actually draw the designs, at least inspired and controlled Bridgeman, and was as much the planner of the Stowe garden campaign as Marlborough was of that of the Lille siege—Bridgeman in the one case and Temple in the other being a leading executive officer. Vanbrugh, in the arts of architecture, and gardening had just the same original genius as Duke John in the art of war and diplomacy. To the latter full credit has always been given. Vanbrugh has been freely praised—and as freely abused—as an architect; but he has never yet been duly recognised as the originator of the "elegant cult," which eventually, and by many steps, lost both elegance and sense of fitness in the excesses of the landscape school, just as, in certain hands, formal and topiary gardening reached the excesses that, in the days of Anne, produced the criticisms of Pope and Addison, which—with Vanbrugh's sense of, and insistence on, the picturesque influencing the practice of Wise and his successor, Switzer—gradually brought it to disfavour, and eventually, under Brown, led to its complete overthrow and destruction.

Thus, if we compare the plans or bird's-eye designs of the environments of Castle Howard and Blenheim, of Eastbury and Claremont, as given in the "Vitruvius Britannicus," with that of

could ponder and practise the "more elegant cult" of gardening. On whose views and teaching did he found such a departure? What professional aid did he rely upon for its practice? We are told that Bridgeman began, Kent continued and Brown concluded the work at Stowe. The name of Vanbrugh has never been mentioned in connection with the laying out of the extensive grounds, but only with certain architectural objects. Yet, between Stowe, as first laid out by Cobham, and the gardens of the houses with which Vanbrugh was concerned—Castle Howard and Blenheim, Claremont and Eastbury—there is a strong family likeness. They show the same general principles, the same leading features. Who carried out Vanbrugh's schemes at Castle Howard and at Claremont we do not know. At Blenheim it was Wise. At Eastbury it



224.—THE SOUTH FRONT AS CREATED BY ROBERT ADAM.

Stowe (Fig. 226), published by Sarah Bridgeman some years after Vanbrugh's death, but before Brown's landscaping had largely transformed the scene, we must conclude that the same brain conceived them; although, in execution, different hands may have produced individual details and characteristics. We must also remember that Vanbrugh's dominant position in the gardening world of George I's time led to the office of "Surveyor of Gardens and Water Works belonging to the Royal Palaces" being created for him in 1715. That this was no empty title or sinecure we gather from a letter which he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle about 1718, in which he complains that someone had given the King "an unfair Account of my Management both of his Houses and Gardens."

The suggestion that he also had the "Management" of the Stowe gardens is strengthened by the fact that he certainly possessed Cobham's friendship. Both were members of the Kit-Cat Club, which, as early as 1703, was so well established that Tonson engaged Kneller to paint portraits of its members and build a room to hold the pictures and entertain the club. Four years later we find Cobham telling Vanbrugh that he has oak trees for sale which might be useful for the Blenheim works. In 1724 Vanbrugh asks his opinion of and gets his approval for the Castle Howard forecourt scheme, and in the summer of the following year both architect and owner of that place are Cobham's guests at Stowe. The party included Carlisle's daughters and Vanbrugh's wife, and, as we have already seen (page 100), had been to Blenheim, where Vanbrugh had been denied admittance. He writes to Tonson in August that from Woodstock—

we went to Lord Cobhams, seeing Middleton Stony by the way, and eating a Chearful Cold Loaf at a very humble ale-houfe, I think the best meal I ever eat, except the first Supper in the Kitchen at Barns.

The Company were so well pleas'd at Stowe, that they stay'd four days, My Lord Carlisle then went on for Castle Howard, and we stay'd at Stowe a Fortnight, a Place now, so agreeable, that I had much ado to leave it at all.

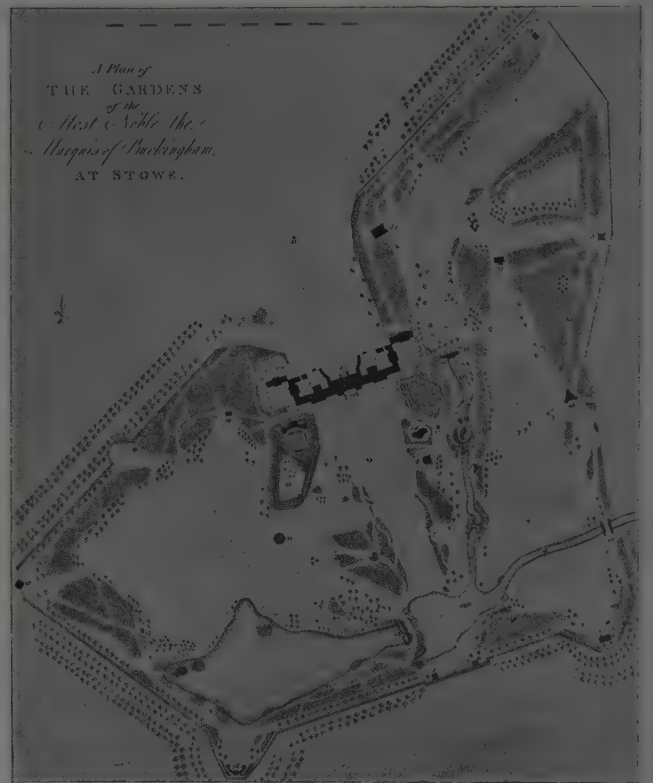
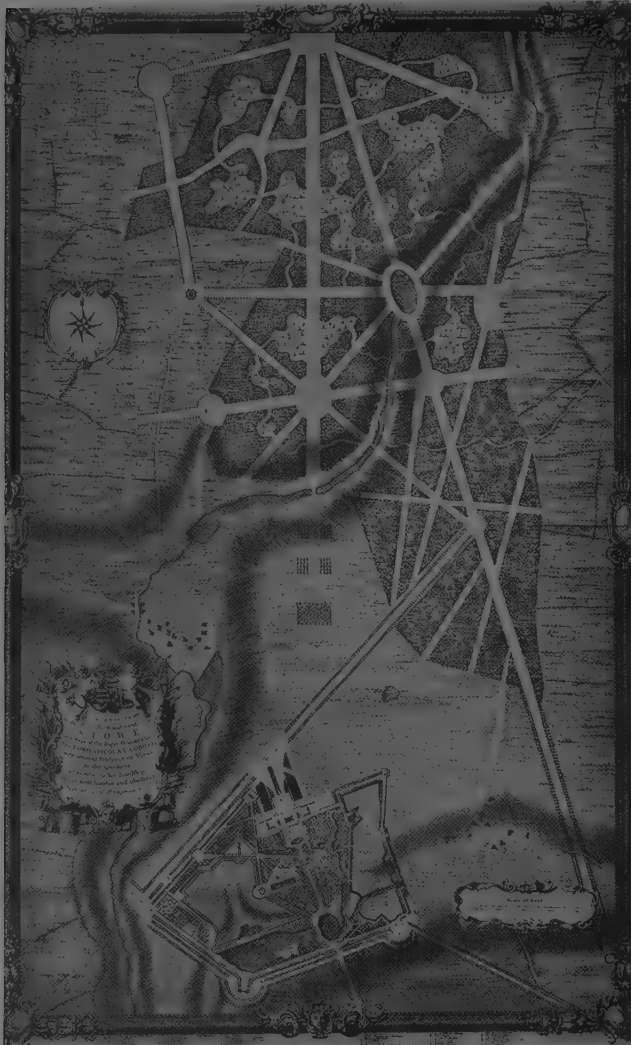
You may believe me, when I tell you, you were often talk'd of both during the Journey, and at Stowe; and our former Kit Cat days, were remembered with pleasure. We were one night reckoning who was left, and Both L Carlisle & Cobham exprest a great desire of having one Meeting next Winter, if you came to Towne. Not as a Club, but old Friends that have been of a Club, and the best Club, that ever met.

Thus, in social intercourse with its owner, Vanbrugh's active and originating mind will have found at Stowe a large field for its exercise. It is probable that, in his time, little was done at the house. Celia Fiennes, who will have visited it soon after, if not before, Cobham succeeded in 1697, describes it as already having all the characteristics of a Late Renaissance house, and so it is quite likely that Cobham's father undertook the transformation of the Tudor residence, and made, as Celia Fiennes saw, "gardens which are one below another wth low breast walls and Taress walks." Indeed, although Cobham is reputed to have employed Kent as freely on the house as on the grounds—no doubt at a date subsequent to Vanbrugh's death—yet the house as described by Celia Fiennes is much as it remained to the end of Cobham's life and as shown in two of the plates by Rigaud (Figs. 222 and 223). It was in the time of Cobham's nephew and successor, Earl Temple, that the house was remodelled and enlarged by Robert Adam (Fig. 224). But some rooms remained as Cobham had decorated them, especially the State dressing-room (Fig. 225), where, as Kneller depicted him, he looked from above the chimneypiece upon the tapestries of the Flemish campaigns—especially of the Siege of Lille—which, like his commander-in-chief, he had ordered from the Brussels looms. Rigaud's plates, fifteen in number, are dated 1739, when they were published with the plan of the lay-out by Sarah Bridgeman. This plan includes most of the park and much woodland and shows that, as at Castle Howard and Blenheim, the scheme of house and environment occupied several square miles of territory. Equally extensive schemes had been previously undertaken, as at Badminton, where Roger North, visiting in 1680, tells us that, stepping on to the roof of the house, he saw how "the lanthorn is in the centre of an asterisk of glades cut through the woods of all the country round, 4 or 5 in a quarter, almost *apert de vieu*. Divers of the gentlemen cut their trees and hedges to humour his vistas; and some planted their hills in his lines for compliment at their own charge." Here there was no lapse from strict geometry, no account taken of natural features, curves or gradients. The coming change in taste, of which the first example, probably, was Vanbrugh's treatment of Wray Wood and other items at Castle Howard, is shown by the irregular treatment of small woodland enclosures, and by a keen appreciation of prominent natural incidents—that is, in such landscaping as the winding hollow of the Glyme river at Blenheim and the tumbled and swelling ground at Claremont suggested. We find the same spirit at Stowe. The



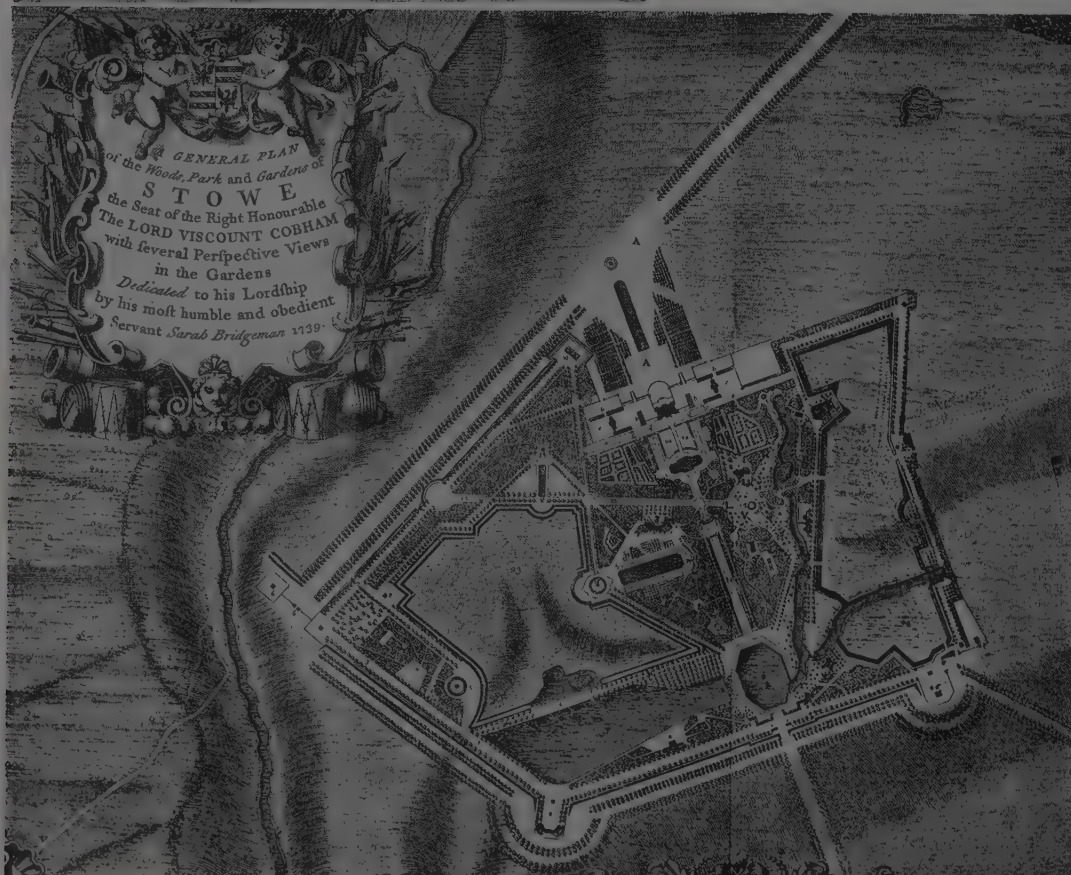
225.—THE STATE DRESSING-ROOM AS DECORATED BY LORD COBHAM.

His portrait by Lely is over the chimneypiece, and the Brussels tapestries of his battles hang on the walls. It remained intact until the house became a school.



226 and 227.—THE ENTIRE GARDEN SCHEME AS
IN 1739 AND IN 1797.

The former shows it as laid out by Vanbrugh, Bridgeman and Kent; the latter as it was altered by Lancelot Brown.

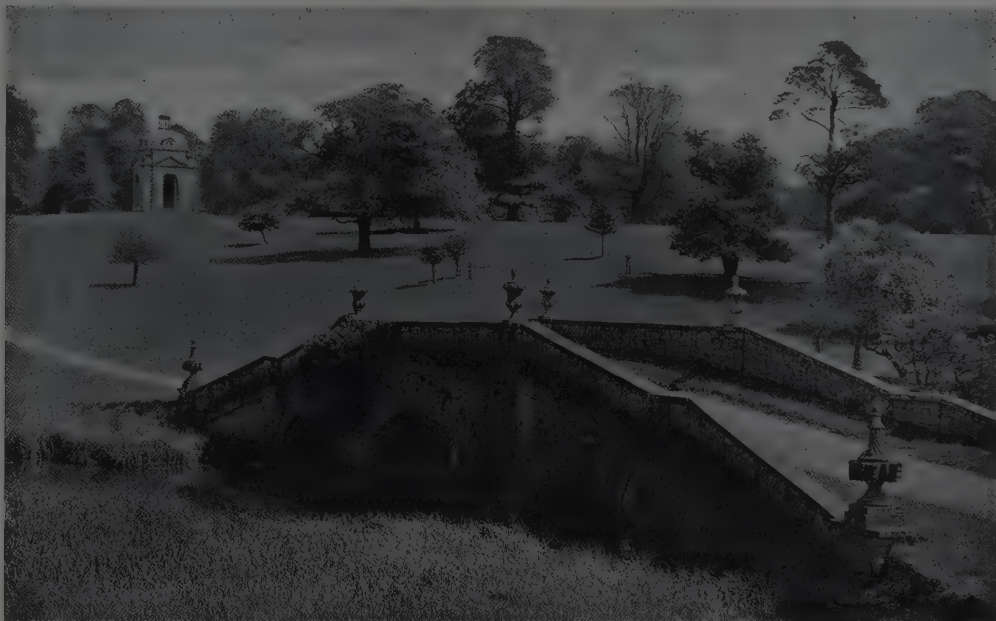


228. — THE INNER
GARDEN ENLARGED.

References (Letters and Numerals) Beginning at North, and Proceeding along East Side.

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. Equestrian Statue of George I. | 2. Temple of Venus. | C. C. Orangeries. |
| b. House & Outbuildings. | 5. Queen's Monument. | 7. Parterre. |
| (At extreme N.E. angle) Fane of Pastoral Poetry. | 6. Boycott Pavilions. | 8. Church. |
| (At next angle, E. side) Lord Cobham's Pillar. | 9. Pyramid. | 9. Temple of Ancient Virtue. |
| 15. Temple of Friendship. | 12. Seat. | 10. Temple of British Worthies. |
| ii. Great Arch and Pavilions. | 10. Temple of Bacchus. | 16. Rotunda. |
| | S & 14. Kitchen Gardens. | |

portion of the plan showing the garden enclosure as it then was is given on larger scale (Fig. 228). It takes the form of a pentagon with one broken side. From north to south—that is, from the George I equestrian statue (A) to Kent's Temple of Venus (2) — or from west to east—that is, from the Boycott Pavilions (6) to the point where the river leaves the enclosure—the distance is about two-thirds of a mile. The boundary is broken by segmental or rectangular bays or “bastions,” such as we have seen Vanbrugh using at Castle Howard and at Blenheim. There he had kept to geometry for his long lines and his parterres, but his water treatment was both formal and natural, and within the groves there were curves and windings. Stowe had the same broad adhesion to formalism, with an increased, if still tentative and experimental, leaning towards irregularities founded on natural features. Notice the watercourse, set with islands, which meanders down from the north to the great octagonal basin that ends the long south vista from the centre of the house. Notice also the system of planting and the



229.—THE BRIDGE LEADING UP TO THE BOYCOTT PAVILIONS.



230.—AN ENTRANCE TO THE PARK.



231.—THE TEMPLE OF BACCHUS.



View of the Queen's Theatre from the Rotunda

Vue du Theatre de la Reine prise a coté de la Rotonde

232.—THE GARDENS SEEN FROM THE ROTUNDA IN 1739.



233.—ONE OF THE BOYCOTT PAVILIONS.

pathways in the woodland sections on either side of the main central alley, as well as that which forms the north-western screen to the enclosure. How far Vanbrugh initiated and directed this scheme is unknown, nor can we be sure how far he himself moved on towards increased naturalism during his last years. There are more of Kent's than of Vanbrugh's buildings in the 1739 plan, showing that much was done and great developments introduced during the decade that followed Vanbrugh's death. Those are what especially will have caught young Horace Walpole's attention, who was twenty-two years old when the plan was published. Stowe, therefore, and those who were then at work upon it were still much in his mind when, in his essay "On Modern Gardening," he attributed the "loose groves" to Bridgeman and—full of admiration for Kent as one whom he thought had "genius to strike out a great system"—declared that Kent had



234.—VANBRUGH'S ROTUNDA.

It originally contained a statue of Bacchus, and, before it was altered under George III, still more closely resembled that at Duncombe (Fig. 287).

“leaped the fence and saw that all nature was a garden.” He does, however, admit that Kent founded his system upon “the twilight of imperfect essays.” If this be a reference to Vanbrugh, we may be allowed to question whether the essays were so imperfect, and whether Kent was much more than an imitator, some of whose developments—such as placing a dead tree in such spots as Claude might have represented one in a picture—were not

improvements. At several of the gardens where Kent performed so greatly to Horace Walpole's delight he merely followed where Vanbrugh had first trodden. Such are Blenheim, Claremont and Stowe. Thus, in gardening, as in architecture, Kent will have been strongly influenced by Vanbrugh, whose three buildings in the Stowe gardens may be taken as the elder relatives of those by Kent, such as the Park Entrance (Fig. 230) and the Temple of Ancient Virtue (Fig. 235). The first work of Vanbrugh's that the visitor to Stowe sees is one of the Boycott Pavilions, which appears as you cross a bridge in the park (Fig. 229), which itself, by its baroque rustication, seems to claim Vanbrugh as its originator. The Boycott Pavilions (Fig. 233) were so called because they took the place of what had been a hamlet of that name. They stand on each side of the avenue that ran outside the garden enclosure and bordered the roadway which led up to the equestrian statue of George I, and then swept round a canal before entering the forecourt. Of the pavilions, Seeley—who first published a "Description of Stowe" in 1766—tells us that "one of them is made use of as a dwelling-house; the other stands in the garden." A comparison of the plan of the gardens (Fig. 227) with that of 1739 shows that Lancelot Brown, who had gradually risen to the premier place at Stowe before Lord Cobham's death, did not materially alter the earlier arrangement. He kept the alignments seen from the north-east and south-west windows of the latter pavilion, although he destroyed the elaborate formalities that had bounded the open and undulating lawns across which Vanbrugh's other two buildings looked. The Temple of Bacchus (Fig. 231) had a canal lying between it and the lawn, of which the valley-like formation suggested, even to Vanbrugh, a semi-natural treatment of the main piece of water at its lower end. To this water Brown afterwards gave waving banks, and he abolished the straight planting of the trees that bordered it. He, likewise, stretched out the lawn over the whole area that had been occupied by the main 1739 lay-out south of the house, where the "loose groves" formed fully screened lapses from the general geometric treatment of hedge and alley, parterre and water. Thus, Seeley makes Vanbrugh's "Rotundo" (Fig. 234) an incident in a hayfield, whereas Rigaud depicts it (Fig. 232) as the rendezvous of an assemblage of Cobham's friends, of whom some study its architecture and the statue of Bacchus that it contained. Others observe the eastern vista over a fountained basin and across the parterre to Queen Caroline's Pillar. Others again, leaning on a low wall, enjoy the southern prospect of lawn and lake, where Nature was allowed her sway and sheep were permitted to roam.

Not only did Vanbrugh like the place so well that he had "much ado" to leave it, but other members of the Kit-Cat Club, whether peers or poets, felt the same. Congreve was often there, and Pope ever returned there "with fresh satisfaction." Stowe was, indeed, the show garden of Georgian days.



235.—KENT'S TEMPLE OF ANCIENT VIRTUE.

CHAPTER VII

CLAREMONT, SURREY

CLAREMONT, as it presented itself in the days of George I—that is, during the last dozen years of Vanbrugh's life—was, both in its inception and development, his very special creation. He became possessed of land in Esher parish which must have fulfilled all his leanings towards the picturesque. It was tumbled about with rapid rises and falls, deep dips and high knolls, yet it was suave in its lines, with a sufficiency of fairly level ground for the adequate placing and setting of a considerable house and a partially formal environment.

Here it was—as Manning and Bray, in their "History of Surrey," tell us, without adding date or detail—that Vanbrugh built himself "a low brick house on low ground." He did not, however, retain it long, but sold it to Thomas Pelham, who, in 1711, at the age of eighteen, had inherited from his uncle Holles, Earl of Clare and Duke of Newcastle, the very extensive Holles estates, which included Clumber, in Nottinghamshire. Thomas Pelham, on his father's death in the following year, succeeded to the Pelham barony. As an active and promising young

Whig he was made much of when George I came to the throne in 1714. He received his uncle's earldom in that year, while in the following one he was created Duke of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Before he became duke he had already acquired the Esher house and land from Vanbrugh, who was then renovating for him the great house in Lincoln's Inn Fields that the Marquess of Powis had been building when he fled with James II from England. It had been occupied under Anne by Lord Chancellor Somers, and became Thomas Pelham's about the time when he was given the Clare Earldom. That was still his chief title when, on his sending word to Vanbrugh that the job in Lincoln's Inn Fields was halting and that very few men seemed to be employed there, the latter replied on February 5th, 1715:

When your L'dship comes to pay the Bills, you will see whether there has been above



236.—THE OUTER SIDE OF THE SOUTH WALL OF THE KITCHEN GARDEN.

3 or 4 men a day at Work. They have Appear'd to me a Swarm of Bees, And they have done so much, that I think you may ly in your house the end of this Month if the Upholsterer do's his part. I have given him, M^r Forbes &c a meeting there this morning, and we have look'd all over. The inner drawing room next the Street, is now ready for the Upholsterer, and the next room to it will be ready for him on tuesday. both those Rooms have their New Chimneys But those for the Great eating room and Vestibule, will not be ready to send out of Derbyshire (where they are making) till the end of the Month, so I have directed the Mason to fix two of the Old ones there to Serve till the others come. The paving of the Vestibule will be finish'd to night. The floor of the other part of the Room has been done a great While, with Windows, doors &c and the Pillasters are up. So the Painter begins upon it on Monday, and will soon have done. The Hall is paved and has a New Chimney Up.

The left hand eating room, wants nothing but a New Chimney. So the old one must serve for the present: the room Next to it is ready, and the Library New floor is doing. Most of the Chimneys are done in the Attick Story, So that the furniture for the Family there, may be put up next week. The Middle room in the Great Appartment above Stairs, will be ready before M^r Vanderbank, but not by the end of this month. The first Great Room I believe will be ready by that time, all but the Chimney piece So the Furniture may be put up, and y^r L^dship may use it to pass through to y^r Bedcham^b: but not to receive Company in, but that I think may be dispenc'd with, as long as all is done below.

That the Surrey house was already Pelham property and, in view of its character and its owner's new title, had been christened Claremont is made quite clear by this same letter, which ends with the paragraph:

I Suppose y^r L^dship will take Claremont in your way up. The most usefull Chimney, we have cur'd, others not. But the Dining Room and y^r own are well, w^{ch} is the main point. I wish every thing there, and every thing every where, just what you wou'd have 'em.

Alterations were already in hand, and in the following November we hear of the progress that had been made:

As to the Building at Claremont: I am Swearing as much as is necessary to get it cover'd; w^{ch} I believe will be out of hand: what neglect has been I can't just tell, but however your Grace need not be in pain of any dreadfull damage to the Work for 'tis not of a kind to receive much.

So far, however, only a moderate increase to the accommodation that Vanbrugh had provided for himself had been undertaken. But great extensions, taking the form of lengthening rather than deepening the existing house, were shortly afterwards decided on, and all was ready for beginning this important work when Vanbrugh wrote to the duke in the July of 1719 that he had "prepar'd the Designs" and was engaged in settling on a competent master mason. His first choice appears to have been one Kidwell, who, however, had hesitated to undertake the business. Vanbrugh then went over to Canons Park, where the Duke of Chandos had started house-building and garden-making on an enormous scale in 1712, and was still busy with it in 1719, when among the master masons employed there was Kit Cash, Edward Strong's foreman, whom we have seen replacing the latter in the work at Blenheim in 1716. Vanbrugh engages him for Claremont "in case I shou'd want him," but still hankers after Kidwell, and, after seeing him again, reports that—

there was really nothing in his declining the Work, but the fear of offending you, by not getting ready in time. I told him he shou'd yet do it if he cou'd find means: Upon which he exerted; got Men proper for his business, and next day, cheerfully undertook it.

Newcastle, in building matters then as in politics afterwards, was, evidently, rather a busybody, keen—not to say fussy—on details and management; but he had good qualities that made him liked, so that Vanbrugh, as we have seen (page lvi), while duly deferential to the duke, was most friendly with the man, taking much trouble about his business and full of gossip in his letters, including social chaff, especially with regard to Brigadier Watkins—the Surveyor of Roads at the Office of Works—who was the man chiefly employed by Newcastle on affairs connected with his buildings and estates. Vanbrugh starts Kidwell to work at once, and, in that same July letter, tells the duke that on the previous day he had sent for Kidwell, who had given him—

an Account in how good a way he was of Advancing. So that I believe the delay will not be, where I most apprehended But rather in clearing away for the foundations. the account of which I leave to the Brigadier, to whom I must (en passant) do this Justice, that he bestirs himself like a Great Officer, As if he resolv'd to be well with you, whether you will or no.

As for my Self, nothing shall be wanting on my Side, to forward the Work, And to have it as right design'd and well done, as I am capable of, And in Order to it, I shan't fail to go to Claremont, the Moment there is room for the Foundations, And I hope as soon as the Walls are got a little way up, Your Grace may have a mind to run over for a day. I cou'd not be there to get drunk upon your Birthday, for which I ask pardon; but have eat your Venison here in Towne today.



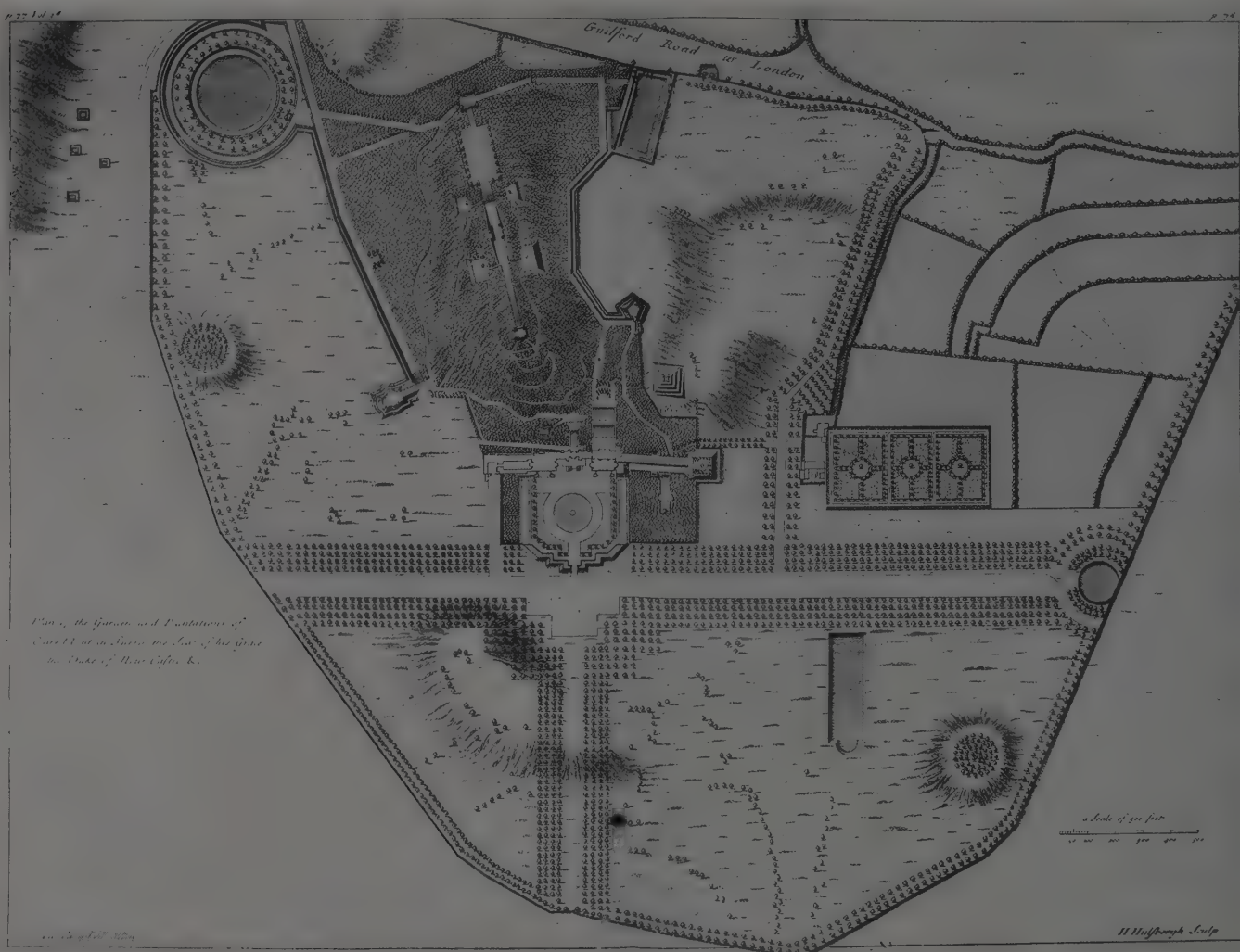
237.—VANBRUGH'S BELVEDERE, OR TOWER.

A fortnight later Vanbrugh again has been to Claremont, where he found the foundations "just begun." The sash-barring is, evidently, to be of the same extra heavy $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. section that we found him using at Blenheim (page 76), for in August he tells Newcastle :

The Sashes I have directed of the Strongest kind, And y^r Grace may depend on me for the rest, for from the time you quite resolv'd you wou'd have this thing done I quite resolv'd to Serve you as well as I cou'd in the doing it.

Five days elapse, and another letter follows telling the duke that Vanbrugh—

found nothing aMiss at Claremont: all going on right, and as fast as is advisable ; For I don't think it wou'd be Safe, to have the Walls up to the top, before the Middle of October at Soonest. I design to go there again in a few days, and will keep a Constant eye upon the Advance of the Walls, for there may easily be unlucky Accidents in it, the Length & height being so great ; No Cross walls to Steddy it & a mixture of Stone And Brick, which don't Sett equally. But all may be well with Care, Which I will therfore be sure to take, to the best of my Skill.



238.—VANBRUGH'S LAY-OUT.

It is given by Campbell in the third volume of his "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," published in 1726.

A year later the work is nearly finished, and the most important apartment is attracting such attention as flatters Vanbrugh immensely. He has been dining with the Duke of Chandos, where his host—

talk'd to me of your Graces New Room at Claremont, designing to have Such a One in the New House he Builds in London, tho' he has not yet Seen it you must know ; but that's Nothing. I have however done all I can to prevent his coming till 'tis quite done ; that it may Stair in his face, And knock him downe at Once.

With closer friends it is a different matter ; they may enjoy the sight of it in its unfinished state, and so the letter continues :

To Morrow, Lord Carlisle L^d Morpeth L^d Rich^d : Sandford, M^r Oldfield my Brother and I, have made a Party to go there. And the Brigadier has engag'd to have a Shoulder of Mutton for us, in the Green Room, w^{ch} is just done. We shan't fail to drink your Graces and the Ladys healths in (I daresay) the best Wine in your Cellar.

What the house looked like we know from one of the set of engravings which, in George II's time, was made to show the place and especially its gardens, which had become only a little less famous than those at Stowe. A double plate in the third volume of the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," published in 1726, gives us the plan of house and grounds as they then were (Fig. 238). But early in George III's time the estate was bought by the great Lord Clive, who engaged Lancelot Brown and his young relation, the promising architect Henry Holland, to make the place accord with the fashions of the day. The house was scrapped, and a new house, which still survives, was built on somewhat higher ground. All the formality that we see in the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*" plan and in the engravings was swept away, except the great walled garden, which was just sufficiently far off from the house to be planted out, and therefore made bearable to the landscaping eyes of Capability Brown. Its inconspicuousness in regard to both the old and new house is shown, as to the former, in the "*View of Clare Mount*" (Fig. 239) as drawn by J. Rocque, engraved by J. Bonneau and published in 1754; and, as to the latter, in one of Watts' "*Views*," published in 1779 (Fig. 240). Campbell describes his double plate as :

The Geometrical Plan of the Gardens and Plantations, with several large Pieces of Water which his Grace has finished with a very great expence. The Situation being singularly romantick and from the high Tower has a most prodigious fine



239.—ROCQUE'S VIEW OF THE VANBRUGH HOUSE IN GEORGE II'S TIME.



240.—WATTS' VIEW OF THE HENRY HOLLAND HOUSE IN GEORGE III'S TIME.



241.—THE GARDENS IN GEORGE II'S TIME.

Prospect of the Thames and
the adjacent Villas.



242.—THE SOUTH WALL AT BLOSSOM TIME.

The site had, no doubt, suited Vanbrugh's comparatively small house; but when he came to enlargement he found that the rising ground immediately behind it prevented any thickening on that side. It is, however, curious that, as there was only a moderate incline for the whole space of the enormous forecourt, he did not add wings projecting along its sides, as at most of his houses, especially at Eastbury and Seaton Delaval. Instead of that, he merely gave extension to the line of his own house by lengthy buildings breaking forward very little from it, as we see in both plan and view. Presumably, projecting wings would have entailed a more serious re-building at greater expense, and we judge that Newcastle was a little frightened at the cost, even of what was done in 1719 by

Vanbrugh, who expresses the hope that the duke "may not repent of laying out more money in Building at Claremont."

The southern lay-out, being the approach side and occupying "an expanse of fairly level ground, was kept formal and very simple. To the north, however, lay two ridges with a hollow between. It was on the western height that Vanbrugh raised his still surviving "high Tower" (Fig. 237), which is such a belvedere as Lord Carlisle had desired for Castle Howard, but which Vanbrugh induced him to forgo in favour of a temple. Carlisle, however, as we have seen (page 50), asked for and received from Hawksmoor sketches for belvederes, and one of them (Fig. 78) has a general likeness to the Claremont building, although its four towers rise not from a square, but from a round, while its windows are square-headed and not arched, as Vanbrugh so generally preferred and introduced throughout his Claremont belvedere. It appears to the left of the house in both the Rocque and the Watts engravings. To reach it you circle half up a mound-shaped knoll and see the west front of the building high above you. You then continue up till you reach a great open glade, set with magnificent beeches and Scots firs, stretching away to the north, while, southward, it rises up to the entrance of the building. It is brick-built, and the form of its apertures, string-courses and battlements reminds us of the "castle" which he had just built for himself on Maze Hill (page 269). The four towers, however, give it something of the skyline of the building in the office court of Castle Howard (Fig. 18). It has a large room, with staircase and closets opening out of it on either floor; while the towers rise

up as gazebos, whence the "most prodigious fine prospect," noted by Campbell, may be obtained. On the lower ground, north east and west of it, Vanbrugh contrived, as we should expect, a central set of formal lines and incidents, but with natural curves and gradients little interfered with where they became pronounced on the banky sides, and where irregularly winding alleys meandered among woodland groves. Thus some nature could exist side by side with, yet screened from, the formalism of the central scheme, with its flights of steps, rectangular water-basins, broad ways, projecting bastions and cut-out amphitheatres, such as we see in the 1726 plan, but which will have been altered and developed by Kent before Rocque made his drawings, one of which gives "A View of the Amphitheatre, Part of y^e Great Lake & the New House in the Island situated in the Gardens of Claremont. One of the Seats of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle" (Fig. 241).

Of the planning and progress of these gardens we get only one reference in the surviving letters of Vanbrugh to the duke. From Castle Howard, in August, 1724, he writes to him that :

In a Letter I troubled your Grace with, about Spiritual Affairs, I told you I had not forgot the Temporal one, of a Seat for the Water side at Claremont. I had it then by me, rough, and here inclose it, fair. Your Grace remembers it was to be calculated for Brick, not Stone And therefore must not expect quite a florid thing, but I think 'Tis a Decent one, and wou'd become the



243.—THE SOUTH WALL, FROM WITHIN.



244.—THE RISE OF THE EAST WALL.



245.—THROUGH THE ARCHWAY INTO THE GARDEN.

place. However ; if it don't please you, it will Serve you to find fault with, till your Obedient humble Servant can Attend you with a Better.

As to the great tripartite walled garden that occupies some four acres of land, fairly level, but with some southward slope, we find that it was in hand a year earlier than the date of the garden seat, for Vanbrugh writes to the duke on July 30th, 1723 :

I am now very near setting out for the North : I believe I shall get away on Sunday or monday : And have therefore exactly fix'd every thing for the Wall and given Billingham Such perfect Sketches, for his Instructions in carrying up one length or Bay of it to the Top : that I think he cannot miss it.

And so at your return, Your Grace may by that Specimen, judge of the rest.

I have likewise drawn out and sent to the Brigadier, the design for the Garden house, which I think do's mighty well.

He reaches Castle Howard in due course, and on August 20th tells the duke how "prodigiously pleas'd" all of the house-party are with what had lately been done there, where the extensive south lay-out of parterre and lake was in hand. Then he adds, "I hope I shall find the walls at Claremont as much to my Satisfaction (and your Grace's too) as these are here."

Vanbrugh's love of bastions, founded upon those of the curtain walls of mediæval castles, is nowhere more amply seen than at Claremont. They break forward from and rise above the general facia of the 600ft. lengths of wall that form the north and south boundaries of the great walled enclosure (Fig. 242). Where needed, a simple but dignified little portal gives admission, through one of the bastions (Fig. 236), to the interior (Fig. 243), where the bastions are mere recesses lacking the presence and distinction that they possess on the exterior. That quality is most marked in the east wall (Fig. 244), as the rise of the ground gives an almost tower-like appearance to the succession of bastions. At the south-east corner an engaging vista of the seemingly endless line of the interior side of the south wall is obtained through an arched cart entrance flanked by extra-massive bastions and topped by a pediment (Fig. 245).

The interior spaces, formed into three by cross-walls, are partly devoted to the "garden of pleasure" and partly to vegetables. At the north-west corner stands a building which, with its massive rustications, is quite in the Vanbrugh manner. It may be the "Garden house" of the above-quoted letter, and is certainly the "M^r Greenings House" of Rocque's drawing, dated 1738 (Fig. 246). Although now whitewashed, it is certainly built of the same brick as the walls, and the fenestration preserves the very heavy sash-barring that Vanbrugh mentions in his letter to the duke, of August, 1719.

Like his own castle on Maze Hill, Vanbrugh's surviving work at Claremont exhibits his remarkable faculty of obtaining from brick, simply but massively used, a result that combines something of the mediæval picturesqueness with the ordered dignity of classic architecture.



246.—"M^r GREENINGS HOUSE."

CHAPTER VIII

EASTBURY PARK, DORSET

OF this mansion, the largest that Vanbrugh conceived after Blenheim and Castle Howard, only the kitchen court, one side of the main forecourt, and about half the gardens remain. The fragments, however, are sufficient to show that George Bubb Dodington, Baron Melcombe of Melcombe Regis, the son of a Weymouth apothecary and the apotheosis of pompous unction and back-stair politics, possessed here a palace rivalled in magnificence only by its architect's creations for the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Carlisle. The survival of the gardens, attributed to Bridgeman in the engraved plan in Vol. III of "Vitruvius Britannicus," makes Eastbury, in that respect, even more

important than its complete contemporaries. Its elaborate vistas and groves, and the praise bestowed on them by James Thomson in "The Seasons" enable us to realise the character of the earliest landscape gardens as created in the first enthusiasm for "the picturesque."

In 1709, or thereabouts, a farm on the south-west edge of Cranborne Chase was bought by George Dodington, one of the Lords of the Admiralty under William III and Queen Anne. By 1718 he had got Vanbrugh to make out designs for a palace which was to include five courts in a single alignment, with a total length of 570ft.

Of this he only saw completed the office courts that flanked the central block, before he died in 1720, when his nephew, George Bubb, succeeded him at Eastbury as owner for life, and endowed with £30,000, apart from his other property, earmarked for the completion of the building. For



247.—THE GREAT ARCH AND ITS FANTASTIC OVERGROWTH.
Seen from the entrance to the present house.

four years the new owner, who took his uncle's name, was too busily engaged in consolidating his political interests to continue the work in Dorset. He would spend his summers there, however, developing the garden lay-out, and was already surrounding himself with a little court of poets and writers—Dr. Young of "Night Thoughts," Henry Fielding, James Thomson. To the former, a very minor poet named Christopher, Pitt wrote in 1722 :

While with your Dodington retired you sit
Charm'd with his flowing burgundy and wit . . .
Or bid your eyes o'er Vanbrugh's models roam
And trace in miniature the future dome . . .
Or, lost in thought, contemplative you rove
Through opening vistas and the shady grove. . . .

From which we infer that, as in the cases of Castle Howard, Blenheim, Easton Neston, and Kensington Palace, where Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor were concerned, a model had been



248.—ROMAN, BAROQUE AND MEDIÆVAL ALL AT ONCE.
Beyond the arch is seen the back of the wing.

fashioned. In 1724, however, building operations were begun again. Thomson referred to the process in "Autumn," published in 1730 :

Meanwhile the lofty grandeur of the dome
Far-splendid, seizes on the ravished eye.
New beauties rise with each revolving day ;
New columns swell and still the fresh Spring finds
New plants to quicken and new groves to green.

Though Vanbrugh himself died in 1726, the work was not finished till 1738, by which time it was estimated that £140,000 had been spent on it.

The existing buildings are the kitchen wing that formed the west side of the forecourt and the nucleus of the north end of the kitchen court, marked respectively P, I and M on Campbell's plan (Fig. 257). In the process of engraving the plan has been reversed—or was reversed in building—so that the kitchen court, shown in the plan as to the east, is actually to the west of the main court,



249.—THE WEST WING AND OFFICE COURT THAT FLANKED THE FORECOURT OF BUBB DODINGTON'S VANISHED MANSION.



250.—THE PRODIGIOUS ARCHWAY TO WHAT WAS THE OFFICE COURT.



251.—BUBB DODINGTON ENTERING THE FORECOURT IN EASTBURY'S HEYDAY.



252.—ELEVATION OF GARDEN FRONT FROM "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS."



253.—THE GARDEN FRONT AS ACTUALLY COMPLETED.
From the great parterre that is now a meadow.

where stables are shown (κ, κ). Access to the subsidiary courts was gained beneath tremendous archways, one of which (Fig. 250) survives. It is similar in its lines to the archway to the hostelry buildings at Castle Howard, which is surmounted by a pyramid. In both appears a course of "machicolations," but the gorgeously baroque consoles that flank this arch are peculiar to Eastbury. The sapling firs that have taken root above the arch—though sooner or later either they or the arch must go—accentuate its picturesque grandeur. In mixing Roman massiveness and Gothic castellation Vanbrugh, surely, had in mind the picturesque architecture painted by Pannini and Gaspar. In its present state the arch might have come out of a Piranesi *veduta di Roma antica*.

Something of the picturesqueness of Old English architecture was given to the forecourt wings (Fig. 249). In the centre rises a tower, with a cornice supported on brackets nearly the size of machicolations. The gable ends originally terminated in pinnaced chimney stacks, while the ranges forming the outer sides of the courts (Figs. 251 and 253) had chimneys that would seem to derive from Tudor originals.

The great forecourt, 160ft. broad and 210ft. deep, was flanked by arcades (Fig. 254)



254.—THE REMAINING RANGE OF THE FORECOURT ARCADE.



255.—BENEATH THE ARCADE, LOOKING SOUTHWARDS.



256.—PEN AND WASH ELEVATION OF THE GARDEN FRONT.

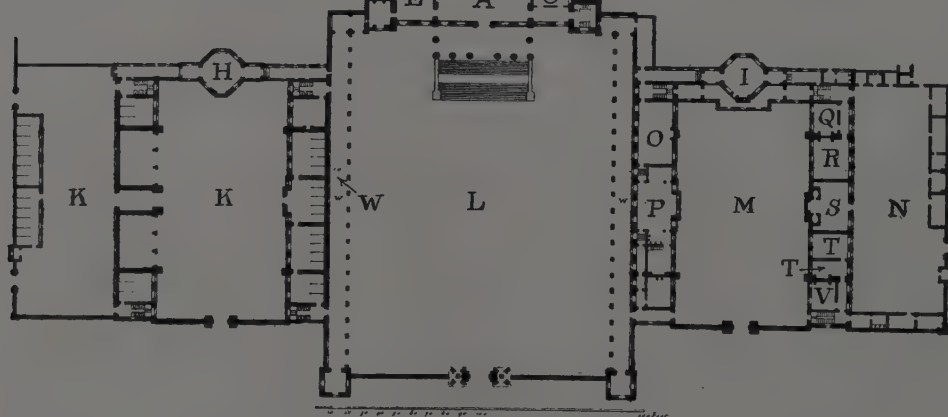
Showing the projected pyramidal roof of one of the octagons. From the Kings Weston book of "Designs by Sir John Vanbrugh." The sketch was probably made circa 1724, and shows several variations from the later Vitruvius elevation.

only eleven windows. As existing, there are nine arches and nine windows. Yet there is nothing to show that the existing wing was shortened when the house was demolished. Probably, its extent was modified in execution, and the picture was painted from Campbell's plan.

Our sources for the reconstruction of the building as a whole are the "Vitruvius" plan and elevations (Figs. 252 and 257), the two oil paintings of the building as it was circa 1760 that remain in the house, and a pen and wash elevation, dating from about 1724, half of which is preserved among the Kings Weston designs (Fig. 256). The latter contributes only the fact that it was intended to surmount the two octagons on the north front (Fig. 253) with pyramidal roofs. Turning to the main block, we find a portico of ringed Tuscan columns facing the forecourt (Fig. 251), and six engaged Tuscan columns forming a centre feature on the garden front (Figs. 252 and 253). The angles were treated as towers, rising into venetian windows open to the air. The paintings show that the great central feature intended to break the skyline above the porticoes, as at Seaton, Blenheim and Kings Weston, was never built. Various other minor modifications and omissions will be noticed between the intended and finished building. Campbell, moreover, included in the 1717 volume of "Vitruvius" another set of designs by Vanbrugh, "for a person of quality in Dorset" (Figs. 258 to 260), that would seem to be an alternative and, probably, an earlier scheme for the central block, an assumption strengthened by the executed designs not appearing till the third volume, published 1726. The main dispositions of the plan were similar in both cases, but in the earlier design for the main block the angle towers had not yet developed to such height ;

similar to those at Seaton, that were terminated at their outer ends by pavilions with pyramidal roofs projecting beyond the ends of the wings. There is a considerable divergence in the extent of the wings as shown in Campbell's plan and in the painting, from what survives. The plan shows twenty-one arches, and sixteen bays of windows in the wings, the paintings about twenty-one arches, but

A. Great Hall. G. Great Eating Room.
B. Salon. H. Chapel.
C. Antiroom. I. Eating Room.
D. Drawing Room. K. Stable.
E. Bedchamber. Courts.
F. Drawing Room. L. Great Court.
M. Kitchen Court. R. Laundry.
N. Brewhouse Court.
O. Servants Common Hall.
P. Kitchen. S. Brewhouse.
Q. Wash-house. T. Dairy.
V. Store Room. W. Arcade.



257.—PLAN FROM "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS," VOL. III.

a semicircular bay formed the centre of the garden front, and the skyline was broken by two colossal stacks of arched chimneys.

Of Bubb Dodington living here in state we have a remarkable portrait in Cumberland's memoirs. He spent the summer of 1756 at Eastbury with Lord Halifax, to whom he was secretary, "old Lady Hervey" and Lady Stafford.

Our splendid host was excelled by no man in doing the honours of his house

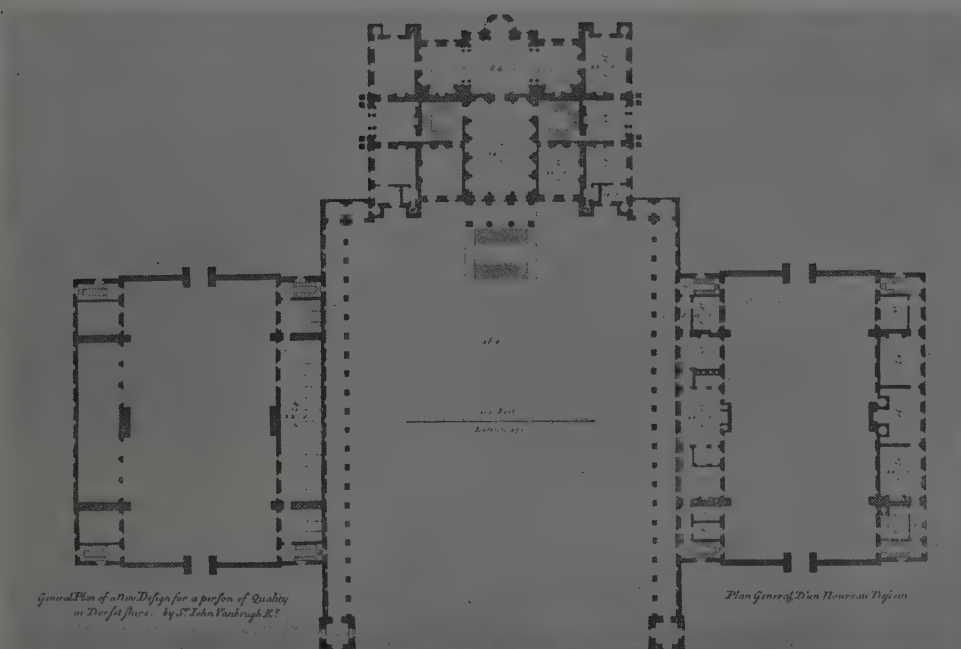
and table; to the ladies he had all the courtly and profound devotion of a Spaniard, with the ease and gaiety of a Frenchman towards the men. The interior of his mansion was as proud and splendid as the exterior was bold and imposing. All this was exactly in unison with the taste of the magnificent owner, who had gilt and furnished the apartments with a profusion of finery that kept no terms with simplicity, and not always with elegance or harmony of style. . . . He was not to be approached but through a suite of apartments and was rarely seated but under painted ceilings and gilt entablatures.

In his Hammersmith villa—famous as “La Trappe”—he had marble halls, vistas of statues, lapis lazuli columns, a Gobelin saloon and “a bed encanopied with peacocks’ feathers in the style of Mrs. Montague.” Yet he contrived all his display at a minimum of cost. Everything was saved and turned to use.

When he passed from Pall Mall to La Trappe it was always in a coach which I could not but suspect had been his ambassadorial equipage at Madrid, drawn by six fat unwieldy black horses, short docked, and of colossal dignity. [The equipage appears in the painting reproduced as Fig. 251.] Neither was he less characteristic in apparel: He had a wardrobe loaded with rich and flaring suits each of itself a load to the wearer,—and of these I have no doubt many were coeval with his embassy [1717-19], and every birthday added to the stock. In doing this he so contrived as never to put the old dresses out of countenance by any variations in the fashion of the new; in the meantime his bulk and corpulency gave full



258.—ENTRANCE FRONT OF “A NEW DESIGN FOR A PERSON OF QUALITY IN DORSETSHIRE.” FROM “VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS,” VOL. II.



259.—PLAN OF THE ABOVE, PROBABLY THE FIRST DESIGN FOR EASTBURY.



260.—THE GARDEN FRONT OF THE FIRST DESIGN.

display to a vast expanse and profusion of brocade and embroidery, and this, when set off with an enormous tye-periwig and deep laced ruffles, gave the picture of an ancient courtier in his gala habit, or Quin in his stage dress ; nevertheless the style, though out of date, was not out of character.

Indeed, on the rare occasions when he dressed normally, his tropes and wit and studied phrases fell flat. He was wholly deficient in taste, as he was in probity. Politically, he has survived as the shifty partisan and Mr. Facing-both-Ways *par excellence*, who courted Walpole, Bute and the Prince of Wales simultaneously. In matters of taste :

Of pictures he seemed to take his estimate only by their cost ; in fact, he was not possessed of any, but I recollect his saying to me one day, in the great saloon at Eastbury, that if he had half a score of pictures of £1,000 apiece, he would gladly decorate his walls with them, in place of which I am sorry to say he had stuck up immense patches of gilt leather shaped into bugle horns, upon hangings of crimson velvet, and round his state bed he displayed a carpeting of gold and silver embroidery which too glaringly displayed its derivation from coat, waistcoat and breeches by the testimony of buttonholes and loops.

The great hall (A on plan) was adorned with statues and busts, and was, probably, of two-storey height, as at Seaton and Grimsthorpe, with stone walls and niches. The wall opposite the entrance contained a venetian arch in the centre, giving in to a passage hall, probably rising to the roof, whence it will have been lit. This was flanked either side by a pair of arches giving on to the two staircases. The centre of the garden front was taken up by the saloon already described, to the left of which were " three noble apartments, one hung with crimson velvet, another with flowered velvet, and a third with satin all richly laced with gold." The east side of the main block contained a drawing-room and a large dining-room, in which were marble tables procured from Italy. There seems to have been at least one ceiling painted by Thornhill, but it is difficult to tell which it can have been.

Two other scenes of life at Eastbury are preserved in Cumberland's memoir. One shows Henry Fox and Alderman Beckford dining with Bubb.

It was an interlude truly comic and amusing : Beckford loud, voluble, self sufficient. . . Dodington, lolling in his chair, in perfect apathy and self command, dozing, and even snoring at intervals, in his lethargic way, broke out every now and then into such gleams and flashes of wit and irony as by the contrast, set the table in a roar.

The pendant is still more comic. Dodington allowed no cards in his house. Instead, he entertained the ladies after dinner by reading aloud, an art in which he believed himself to excel. Once, indeed, he had snatched his MS. from Thomson, who was reading him one of " The Seasons," exclaiming that he did not know how to read his own poetry. On this occasion he seated the elderly Lady Hervey and Lady Stafford, and made a curious selection, namely Fielding's " Jonathan Wild." " However," Cumberland observed, " the ladies were polite enough to appear pleased."

Thomson had cried in " Autumn " :

Oh lose me in the green delightful walks
Of, Dodington, thy seat serene and plain,
Where simple nature reigns and every view
Diffusive spreads the pure Dorsetian downs
In boundless prospect.

By 1730 there were not many gardens where the first of the picturesque poets—with his eye for Claudian landscape and Salvatorian contrasts—could discern " simple nature " or " boundless prospects." Formal as the Eastbury lay-out seems in contrast with those of Kent, it marks, in conjunction with the gardens at Castle Howard, Blenheim (Wise under Vanbrugh), Stowe and Claremont, a bold step towards landscape effects. To begin with, it is surrounded by a ha-ha so that every one of the grass vistas admitted a prospect. There were lawns and walled gardens near the house, and a regular lake in the middle. But beyond came a series of " groves " in which lesser paths were disposed. At the end of all rose the tiers of a kind of amphitheatre, of the kind for which Le Blond gave several designs in his " Theorie et Pratique du Jardinage," 1722. The Eastbury " groves " are also represented in Le Blond by a series of similar, though more elaborate, " cabinets et salons pour des Bosquets."

Most of this lay-out remains. The pond—to which water was pumped by engines worked by horses—and the lawns have gone back to meadow, but all the groves of beech remain (Figs. 263, 265 and 266), with a clipped undergrowth of laurel. The walled garden and the two " mounts " shown in the plan (Fig. 264) also survive. Campbell attributes the garden to Bridgeman. But



261.—VANBRUGH'S ENTRANCE TO THE PARK.



262.—A PARK ENTRANCE, *circa* 1730, PROBABLY BY WILLIAM KENT.



263.—GROVES AND GLADES IN THE SURVIVING PORTION OF THE "LANDSCAPE" LAY-OUT.
At the crossing of two glades.

both here and at Stowe (page 158) he was probably carrying out Vanbrugh's ideas, if not his designs, just as Wise did at Blenheim (page 111). Who his horticultural assistant was at Castle Howard and at Claremont does not appear. But all these gardens have such a family resemblance that there can be no doubt that where his letters do not prove him to be their author they were inspired by him. Any buildings that the Eastbury gardens may have contained have disappeared. Some of the doorways to the walled garden show Vanbrugh's touch, though to nothing like the extent of the dramatic entrance gateway (Fig. 261). Seen against a dense avenue of yew, the piers stand up with a ghostly pallor, raised above the road. They are approached over a culvert crossing the brook that borders the road. From whichever point it is viewed, this composition makes extraordinarily effective use of its opportunities. Another gateway (Fig. 262) that formerly provided access to the park from the north-east suggests that Colin Campbell or Kent was occasionally employed by Dodington. This well might be, in view of Eastbury's incompleteness at Vanbrugh's death.

On Dodington's death, in 1762, Eastbury went, under his uncle's will, to the Grenville family, in the person of Earl Temple. In the following



264.—PLAN OF THE LAY-OUT.
From "Vitruvius Britannicus," Vol. III, where it is assigned to Bridgeman. The top is north.



265.—THE WESTERNMOST OF THE THREE NORTH AND SOUTH ALLEYS, LOOKING NORTHWARDS.



266.—THE LAWN SHOWN IN THE PLAN TO THE LEFT OF THE CENTRAL POOL.

year the contents were sold, but the house failed to find a purchaser, in spite of Lord Temple's offer of an annuity of £200 a year to anyone who would live in it and keep it in repair. About 1775 it was, accordingly, destroyed, most of the walls needing to be blown up with gunpowder. For some time the remaining wing was inhabited by Josiah Wedgwood and his family. Then, in 1806, it was bought by the great-grandfather of the present owner, J. J. Farquharson, a famous sportsman, who, for fifty years, kept and hunted the local hounds at his own expense, at one time kennelling them in the old courtyard. To-day, though nothing but some uneven ground marks the site of the main block and opposite wing, the place has much of that romance with which Vanbrugh aimed at enduing his classic masses. It proceeds as much from what has vanished as from what survives. To one standing in the grass where once spread his tawdry *enfilades* even George Bubba looms a Falstaff.



267.—THE “BOSQUETS” OF BEECH AND SYCAMORE, WITH A CLIPPED UNDERGROWTH OF LAUREL.

CHAPTER IX

VANBRUGH CASTLE AND HOUSE, KENT

SIR JOHN VANBRUGH started a house-building scheme on his own account half a century before the brothers Adam set about creating the Adelphi. That was a large undertaking, whereas Vanbrugh's was a small one. "Vanbrugh built four houses under lease granted by the Biddulphs in 1717" is a note to the volume on "The Hundred of Blackheath," founded on Hasted's "Kent" and published in 1886. Hasted himself had told us a hundred years earlier :

At the *north-east* corner of the heath and almost joining to *Meaze-Hill* are *Vanbrugh's Fields*, so called from *Sir J. V.* the architect of some buildings here, which he erected in a very particular manner, to resemble a fortification, with battlements, towers &c, and a gateway of like form, under which you pass on your approach to them. One of this fort on *Meaze-Hill* was lately the residence of Lord Tyrawly who sold it to Mr Charles Brett, the present possessor of it.

Greenwich, as we have seen in the Introduction (page xxxiii), had interested Vanbrugh from the beginning of his architectural career. His brother William had become secretary to the Hospital Committee in 1695, and he himself—before the plans for the Hospital had been finally adopted—had made designs for an imposing chapel. It was at Greenwich that George I knighted

him in 1714, and two years later he was appointed Surveyor to the Hospital. It may well be that office which decided him upon having a house of his own close by, and he, therefore, as the annotator of Hasted discovered, took up on building lease a tract of high ground lying at the south-east corner of Greenwich Park. The northern point of this land offered a site after Vanbrugh's own heart. We have seen (page 167) how his eye for the picturesque had led him to build, on the tumbled ground in Esher parish, the house which he sold in 1715 to the Duke of Newcastle. When he parted with this it would seem that he had no house of his own, for his London residence at that time was in the portion of the old Whitehall Palace precincts where the Office of Works was located. He will have



268.—THE CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



269.—THE SOUTH ELEVATION.



270.—THE NORTH ELEVATION.



271.—SCENE FROM THE ROOF TERRACE.

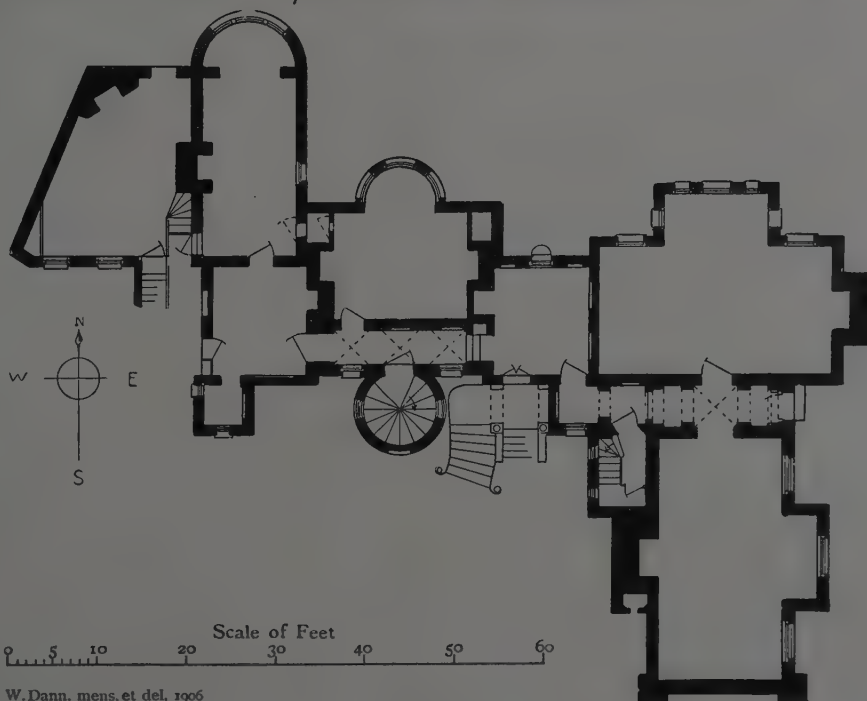
held it as an official or as a tenant, for it was not until 1723 that he erected in Scotland Yard his own modest habitation which Swift satirised as "Goose-pie House."

Thus we gather that his taking up of an area of the Biddulph estate on the edge of Blackheath had for its principal object the providing for himself of a sympathetically placed and planned country house. He decided that it should occupy the bluff where the descent from Maze Hill to the flat, on which the Hospital spreads out by Thames-side, is almost precipitous; and where a system of walls and bastions, towers and battlements, mediæval in spirit, would be quite excusable, and might, indeed, be made, to the eye of his contemporaries, convincingly castle-like. Behind that other houses could be, if less picturesquely, yet well located, and the estate of Vanbrugh Fields might be entered from the high road through a gate-house of Gothic outline, if of Renaissance fenestration (Fig. 277).

So agreeable an "outwork" called for repetition on a smaller scale as the mode of ingress to his own private domain (Fig. 276). Placed



272.—THE ROOF TERRACE.



273.—THE GROUND-FLOOR PLAN.

Reproduced with leave from the Annual Record of the London Topographical Society, 1906.

at the edge of the sharp descent, its turrets rose loftily and almost defensively before you as you climbed up the road that skirts the park. Recent road-widening has brought about the destruction of most of it, but through the gateway may still be seen the triple-towered south elevation of the house (Fig. 269). The central round tower contained a newel stair and was treated as a main feature. A modest flight of stone steps led up to an inconspicuous porch and to a door set in an otherwise unbroken section of the wall. Within is a hall, no more than a dozen feet square; but a hint of the dignified spaciousness of a Castle Howard or a Blenheim is given by the vaulted corridors opening out of it east and west. That to the west (Fig. 274) leads to an ante-chamber after passing by the door to the newel stair. Although the most interesting view is westward, over park and Hospital to the Thames sweeping down between London and Bermondsey (Fig. 271), yet the main sitting-rooms face north (Fig. 270), with view down a tree-clad slope to the broadening river on its way to Woolwich; while beyond that lay the wide Essex landscape, half the county visible in those smokeless days. To enjoy the panorama, the elevation afforded by the roof was desirable, and, therefore, it was provided with a lead flat, from which rise the turret tops and the round chimney-shafts that group as a foreground to the distant prospect (Fig. 272).



274.—THE WEST CORRIDOR.



275.—A CORNER TOWER.



276.—THE GATEWAY TO THE CASTLE.

From a photograph by Mr. G. H. Lovegrove, taken before its recent demolition.

Thus, in his own home, Vanbrugh gave rein to his dramatic sense, and, although the formality of his age required some area of levelled ground for forecourt and parterre south and north of the house, yet the quick western descent permitted a treatment of bastioned walls (Fig. 275) and little enclosures that yielded almost craggy peeps up to the high-perched battlements of the castle turrets (Fig. 268). The site ensured a considerable measure of aptitude to the archaic conception which Vanbrugh realised in more solid manner and with more convincing grouping and massing of the parts than did his Strawberry Hill successors. His round-arched, though untraceries, windows are more reasonable and effective than the gingerbread antics of Horace Walpole and his admired Richard Bentley. There is an honesty and straightforwardness about Vanbrugh's usage of brick—liberal and solid—which adopts the spirit of the defensive age that he had in mind, although he used—when he felt they belonged to his mode of life—the forms of his own day, and made the whole building so much his own that it



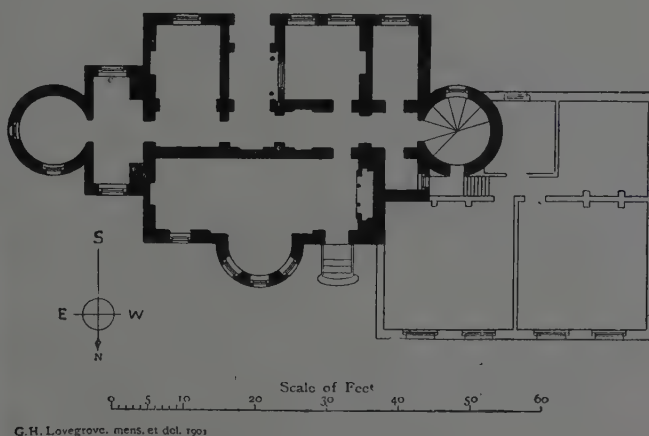
277.—THE GATEWAY TO VANBRUGH FIELDS.
DESTROYED 1902.



278.—MINCE-PIE HOUSE.
DESTROYED 1902.



279.—VANBRUGH HOUSE.
DESTROYED 1902.



280.—PLAN OF VANBRUGH HOUSE, BY MR.
G. H. LOVEGROVE.

bears the undeniable stamp of his individuality. Even the loss of its entrance gateway and the additions to the building that form the east side of the forecourt have not deprived it of its character. Essentially as he conceived and made it so does it remain to this day.

It is, however, the only survivor of his Greenwich group, for the other buildings mentioned in the 1886 note to Hasted are gone. Before their demolition, however, photographs were taken and a survey made by Mr. G. H. Lovegrove, who published them in a paper in the London Topographical Society's Record for 1906. Other photographs were taken by Mr. F. W. Nunn, Secretary to the Greenwich Antiquarian Society, and have appeared in part III of its Transactions. From these sources we learn that Vanbrugh House disappeared about 1902, and that the old gate-house and Mince-pie House shared the same fate. The castle had been acquired in 1907 by Mr. Duckham, who had it carefully repaired and sympathetically enlarged under the supervision of Mr. T. N. Dinwiddy. Vanbrugh House, which lay south-east of it in Vanbrugh

Fields, shared the mediæval character of the gate-house and castle. It was a square block with engaged round towers at each end (Fig. 279), thus, on a smaller scale, assuming something of the general form of Seaton Delaval. Mince-pie House (Fig. 278) was a long, low dwelling, less characteristic of Vanbrugh than the other buildings. When and how it got that name (afterwards changed to Sherwood) does not appear, any more than does an early indication of the castle being called the Bastille. Hasted himself mentions no such nickname, nor does Richardson in his Greenwich "History," published in 1834. His account, much resembling that of Hasted, tells us :

On the summit of Maize Hill is an irregular castellated structure of brick called "Vanbrugh Castle," erected about the year 1717 by Sir John Vanbrugh. At a short distance from this building are Vanbrugh Fields, in which is a singular house, built also by Vanbrugh, and called the "Mince Pie House." An arched gateway, with a lodge on each side, now standing some distance within the principal field, appears to have formed the original entrance from the Heath.

It is not till we get to the 1886 version of Hasted that we read that the building on Maze Hill was "called the Bastile house, said to be a model of the Bastile." That is a far-fetched notion, and such mediævalism as the castle possesses is quite in accord with what Vanbrugh did elsewhere in this manner. Yet it is true that his period of captivity in France (page xiv) sank deep into his mind, and we find a reference to it in the letter to his friend Tonson, six months before his death. He is dilating on the treatment accorded to him by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, and describing how the "hussey" had sought to ruin him by litigation and by withholding his fees, so "as to throw me into an English Bastile to finish my dayes as I begun them in a French one." This letter to Tonson is merely one of many that he dates from Greenwich. From there also, in May, 1717, he writes to the Duke of Newcastle that he cannot come up to town because he is "flea'd at this time with Blisters." Here, in 1719, he will have brought his bride. From it, in August, 1723, he sets out for his yearly visit to Castle Howard, but is back again in November. He was out when the Duke of Newcastle called in the following December, and writes, the next day :

I hear your Grace was pleas'd to Storm my Castle yesterday, I hope next time you'll be so Gallant to let me know of your Design, which if I do, I'll endeavour to give you a Warmer Reception.

It was, however, in the Whitehall house that he succumbed to an attack of quinsy in the spring of 1726. Vanbrugh Castle then passed to his widow, who sold it to Lord Tyrawly, so that it was "lately his residence" when Hasted first published his "History of Kent" in 1778. It is a fortunate circumstance that, unlike its fellows in Vanbrugh Fields, it has escaped demolition, and was, in 1921, presented by Mr. Alexander Duckman to the Royal Air Force Memorial Fund, to be used as a school for the sons of deceased airmen.

CHAPTER X

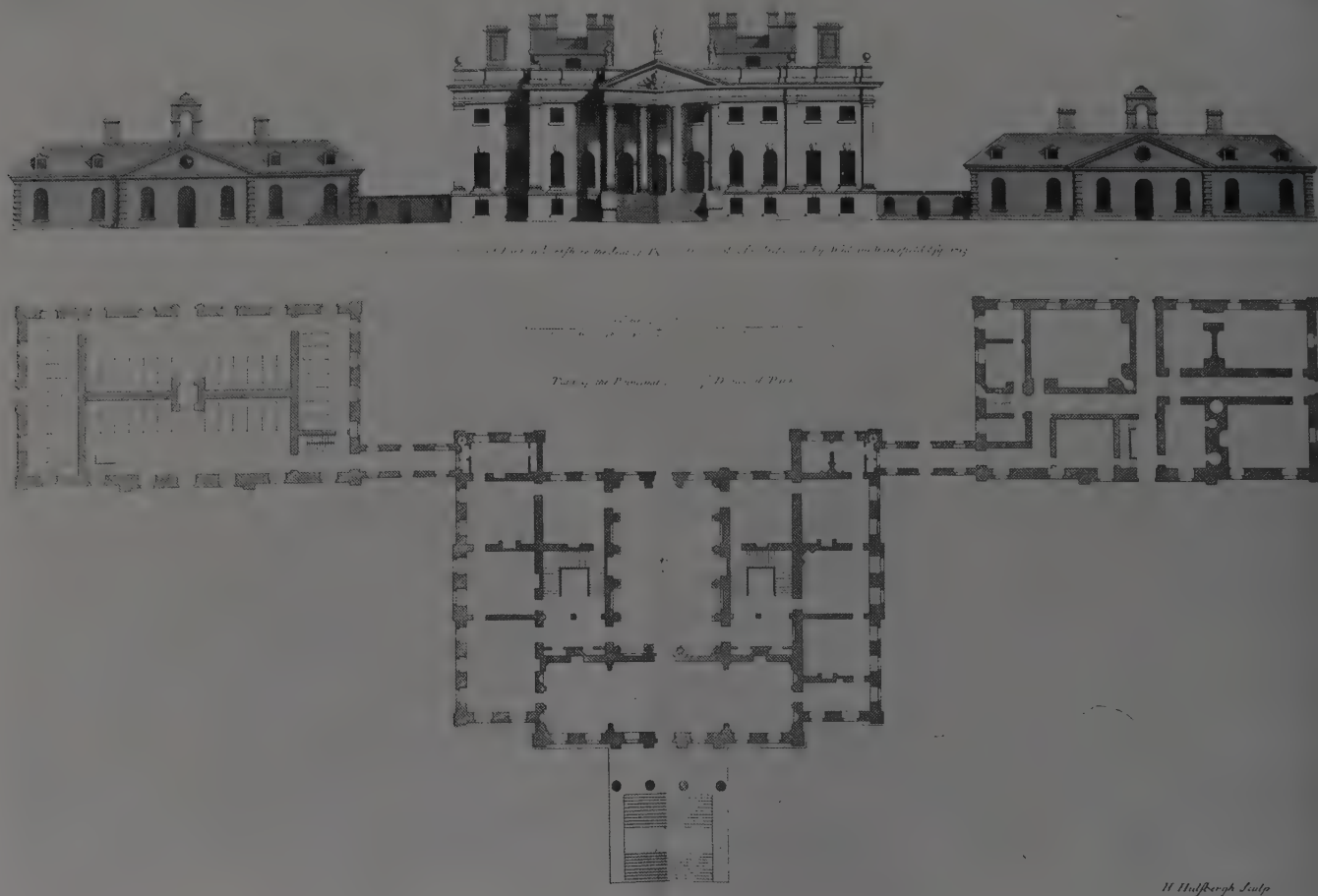
DUNCOMBE PARK, YORKSHIRE

THE building of Castle Howard was an event of importance in Yorkshire's architectural history. In the small way that still ruled in the days of Queen Anne, mining and manufacture were growing additions to the wealth that agriculture gave. Large estates brought liberal incomes to the heads of long-established families, and there were new men possessing themselves of new acres. Gilling Castle and Duncombe Park show us that both these sets of owners aimed at grander housing, and looked to the designer of Lord Carlisle's new palace for advice. There was a Vanbrugh vogue, no doubt, but yet his connection, even with the two outstanding examples mentioned, is obscure. His name does not occur in any known contemporary writing that concerns them. True, we have his letter, written to Brigadier Watkins from York in August, 1721, telling him that "here are Several Gentlemen in these Parts of the World that are possess'd wth the Spirit of Building." But, unfortunately, he gives no names, and his own name is wanting in Colin Campbell's reference to Duncombe. He gives its plan and elevation in the first volume of his "Vitruvius Britannicus," and calls it "The Seat of Thomas Duncombe Esq^r Defignd by William Wakefield Esqr. 1713." He gives the same architect as the designer of an elevation of Rokeby for Sir Thomas Robinson which differs in almost every respect from what Sir Thomas afterwards erected. That is all the information we possess concerning Wakefield, except a passage as to him and his family in Drake's "Eboracum," published in 1736. Drake is reciting the inscriptions in one of the churches in York, which he spells "S^t Michael Belfrays," and among them are these two :

Here lyeth Thomas Wakefield the son of William Wakefield of Huby who died April 1st, 1717.
Here lyeth also Dorothy wife of the above William Wakefield who died March 25, 1722.



281.—THE FORECOURT GATES.



282.—THE ORIGINAL PLAN AND ELEVATION.

Given in the first volume of the "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," and dated 1713.

At the bottom of the page Drake adds the note :

Here lyes also, as yet without any memorial, that worthy Gentleman *William Wakefield* Esquire, whose great skill in architecture will always be commended, as long as the houses of Duncombe Park and Gilling Castle shall stand.

Thus, with Drake, as with Campbell, Wakefield gets the entire credit for these buildings. But they tell their own tale. The whole of Duncombe and as much of Gilling as belongs to the eighteenth century are so completely in the Vanbrugh manner, and the Vanbrugh manner was so individual, that there can be little hesitation in deciding that he did not merely inspire Wakefield, but himself originated the designs which the local man carried out—standing, in respect of Vanbrugh, much as Etty did at Castle Howard and at Seaton Delaval, and as Coleman did at Kimbolton. Huby, Gilling and Duncombe, and, indeed, Castle Howard itself, are in the region lying north of York city that Thomas Gill describes in the "*History of Easingwold*," which he published in 1852. Then, as he tells us, there still stood "the antique ruins of Huby Hall, the seat of William Wakefield the celebrated architect," who, as he goes on to state, "constructed" Duncombe, which, he adds, Vanbrugh was supposed to have designed.

Duncombe Park is on the important Helmsley estate whose lord long dwelt in the castle close to the town and to the river Rye. We still find a mediæval shell there as well as notable remains of Early Tudor work dating from the time when it had come by marriage to the first of the Manners who held the Rutland earldom. By marriage, again, with the Rutland heiress, it came to the first Villiers Duke of Buckingham, and descended to his son, the second duke. Forfeited under the Commonwealth, it was granted to its leading general, Lord Fairfax, whose cousin, the other Fairfax baron, owned neighbouring Gilling. By marrying the Parliamentary general's daughter Buckingham regained Helmsley, held it during his wild and chequered career, and died, a ruined man, in the house of one of his tenants. Then, by a sale of unprecedented magnitude in the real estate market of that age, new blood came to Ryedale :

And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a scrivener or a City Knight.



283.—THE WEST, OR ENTRANCE, FACADE.

Sir Charles Duncombe was one of the goldsmith-bankers whose finances will not have been much shaken by Charles II's seizure of the Exchequer deposits in 1672, for in 1695 he had surplus capital enough to give £90,000 for the Helmsley estate of 40,000 acres. He also acquired a great Wiltshire property at Downton, and we are told that he set Verrio and Grinling Gibbons to work on his Thames-side villa at Teddington. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1708, and three years



284.—THE EAST, OR GARDEN, FACADE.



285.—THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE HALL.



286.—THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF THE HALL.

later he died. Whether or not we owe the scheme and inception of the new house in Ryedale to him is unknown. Most of his time will have been spent in London or at Teddington. When he could get farther afield his preference seems to have been given to Downton, where he died. When in Yorkshire he must have occupied the ancient—although, no doubt, renovated—Castle, for, even if begun, the new mansion cannot have been finished by 1711. Colin Campbell gives 1713 as the date of the design, and it is probable that the building was then in its early stages. Sir Charles had no children, but a nephew and a niece. To the son of his brother Anthony went Downton, while the niece carried Helmsley to her husband, Thomas Browne, who was Duncombe's business associate and succeeded him in the lucrative post of Receiver-General of the Excise. He took the name of Duncombe, and is the Thomas Duncombe who was Sheriff of the County of York in 1728 and had a large new house in St. Lawrence Gate, "one of the neatest and best built streets in the City," as Drake tells us.

The new owner of Helmsley, thus posing as a Yorkshireman, will have turned his eye towards Castle Howard, to the owner of which his wealth approximated, while he possessed a site which exceeded Henderskelfe in that combination of picturesqueness and dignity which Vanbrugh was making fashionable.

The river Rye, in its initial course, dashes down a moorland chine, and its vale admits, between its steep sides, of but a ribbon of lush meads at the point where, in the twelfth century, Walter l'Espée, Lord of Helmsley, founded the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx. After passing the abbey the valley opens somewhat, but has—with many a sweeping curve—to wind round a spur of the hill land before it reaches the plain at Helmsley town and Castle. The spur, savagely steep and rugged as are its sides rising from the river level, offers at its top a large area of suavely undulating land—a "polite" site for a palace and its "outworks," having the qualities of Blenheim, but translated from a



287.—VANBRUGH'S ROTUNDA.
It is very similar to that at Stowe (Fig. 235).



288.—THE DRIVE RISING UP FROM HELMSLEY TOWN.



289.—THE GATES OF THE DEER PARK.

region of little acclivities to one so nearly mountainous as to have rejoiced Vanbrugh's heart by its dramatic intensity. There was room for the unfolding of a stately scheme—of avenues and woodlands, vistas and terraces—before reaching the precipitous sides. From the southern one the eye gazes down into the Rievaulx gorge. Over the eastern one it takes a flight across the rich lowland to the misty distance. Helmsley and the high-road lie to the north-east, and the drive rises gradually through timbered grasslands until the deer park paling is reached (Fig. 288). Triple gates lie before you, the side ones being arched over by little temple-like structures of which the clustered and rusticated pilasters are quite in Vanbrugh's manner. The rustication is curiously effected. The raised bands are pitted with hollows hardly half an inch deep and about an inch square (Fig. 289). This curious treatment we shall find again, and more liberally used, at Gilling. It will have been a local mason's

slap-dash and rapid device for getting a certain amount of differentiation of surface, hardly deserving the name of rustication or likely to have earned the approval of Vanbrugh, whose love of massive treatment and finished craftsmanship is seen a little farther along the drive. On your left an opening in the trees shows just the same temple as he contrived for Stowe (Fig. 234). Standing on a great curved bastion of rusticated ashlar (Fig. 290), it forms the north end of the great grass terrace that runs along the edge of the eastern steep (Fig. 291). The ashlar work continues along from the west end of the bastion forming the boundary between park and pleasure grounds. These take the form of extensive woodland squares flanking the great open lawn that stretches from the east side of the house (Fig. 284) to the grass terrace. Although the temple has announced the proximity of the house, no sign of the latter appears as we pass along the edge of the woodland until the drive takes a southward turn and then sweeps round to the forecourt gates (Fig. 281). The posts give another example of the clustering of pilasters,



290.—THE ROTUNDA AND ITS BASTION, FROM THE PARK.



291.—THE ROTUNDA, SEEN FROM THE END OF THE GREAT EAST TERRACE.

or engaged columns, dear to Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, the design in this case somewhat resembling the composite plinths in the Castle Howard parterre (Fig. 71), the design of which we have attributed to Hawksmoor (page 49).

The scheme of Duncombe as shown in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plan (Fig. 282) is of a rectangular "main pile" with projecting ends to the west and projecting centre to the east, a great portico and flight of steps being set against the latter. From the sides of the end projections start corridors connecting the main pile with the low wings of which—as at Castle Howard, Eastbury, and Blenheim—that on the left side of the forecourt was designed for domestic offices and that on the right side for stables. These wings were either never erected or were removed; for those that now exist are quite different in plan and form, having been built from Barry's designs some eighty years ago. More recently the main pile itself was gutted by fire. The reconstruction that followed was, on the whole, conservative. The west, or entrance, side, with its projecting ends (Fig. 283), is of exactly the same form as in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" plan. But the east elevation, which, in the design, shows a projecting centre, now has a recessed centre and projecting ends. The hall, moreover, is square-shaped (Fig. 285), whereas the measurement of 60ft. by 40ft. is given on the original plan and repeated by Gill, who wrote some years before the fire. Yet the hall is typical of Vanbrugh. It is stone-lined, and the far projecting entablature is carried by tall Corinthian columns. The opposite sides exactly balance each other. The entrance portal and flanking windows match the double door into the saloon and the shell-topped niches on either side (Fig. 286). The north and south sides have exactly similar *motifs* in the trio of spaces that lie between the columns. Outside, the west elevation is thoroughly characteristic of Vanbrugh, the great architecturally treated groups of chimney-shafts are closely allied in form and position to what he did at Kings Weston at the very time when Duncombe was in hand. The huge clustered pilasters at the corners show the same grouping and purpose as those at Kimbolton and at Blenheim, and, as at the latter house, afford structural space for winding staircases.

The lay-out follows the main lines of what we have met with at Castle Howard and Blenheim, at Stowe and Claremont. It has a Le Nôtre spaciousness, but, while retaining formality near the house and for the main lines, it readily accepts the more distant gifts of Nature. The whole design is dominated by the irregular and formidable steepness of the east and south descents, which suggest and frame the broad sweeps of level grass along their edge. The eastern section leading up to Vanbrugh's temple must, in its origin, be coeval with the temple. But a temple at its southern end and the southern arm of the terrace stretching towards Rievaulx date from half a century later, when the "Landscape School" had fully triumphed.

CHAPTER XI

GILLING CASTLE, YORKSHIRE

GILLING village lies low, at the meeting of two brooks on their way to join the lower waters of the Rye. A spur rises between their hollows, and on that spur, with rapid descent to south and east, stood the Edwardian castle of the Ettons. Much work was, no doubt, done there by Sir Ivo, who died in 1315. He left a son, Thomas, who had a son and a grandson of the same name, so that there seemed a poor chance of succession for the issue of Sir Ivo's daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Fairfax of Walton. Yet, a hundred and seventy years after her father's death another Thomas Fairfax successfully claimed the Gilling estate as her heir.

Walton is within the Ainsty, or county, of York city, and was acquired by the son of Nicholas Fairfax, whom we find, under Richard I, paying a fine of 20s. for selling wine contrary to the assize. He was ancestor to the various branches of the Fairfax family, who spread themselves over Yorkshire, obtained two peerages, and played their part in English affairs under Tudors and Stuarts. One only, however, has a page of history to himself, and that is the famous Parliamentary general whom we have seen obtaining the grant of the forfeited estate of Helmsley (page 194). He was Baron Fairfax of Cameron, a title conferred on his grandfather in 1627, two years before the owner of Walton and Gilling became first Viscount Fairfax of Elmley. His father, Sir William, had done much to turn the mediæval stronghold into an Elizabethan house, and to him we owe one of the most complete and satisfying interiors of that period.

The "Great Chamber" (Fig. 307) is distinguished no less by its inlaid wainscoting, painted frieze and pendentive ceiling than by the heraldic glass with which Boernard Dininckhoff



292.—THE STEPS UP TO THE FRONT DOOR.



293.—THE NORTH WING.

filled its windows in 1585. It has been fully illustrated and described in *Country Life*, Vol. XXIV, page 416.

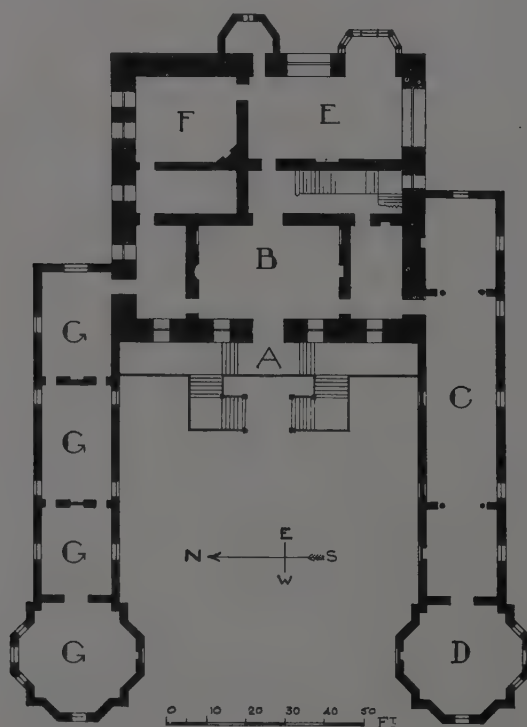
The first viscount appears to have preferred Walton to Gilling as a residence, and, although no harm came to the Great Chamber, the house was, probably, somewhat decayed as well as old-fashioned when the Vanbrugh influence permeated that part of Yorkshire, and when the owner of Gilling determined

upon an extension and re-modelling of the house under his advice.

The initials C. F. occur on an over-door, and a coronet is combined with drapery swags in the hall (Fig. 297). The fifth, sixth and seventh viscounts were all called Charles. The first of these ended a long period of ownership in 1711 and may, like John Egerton of Oulton (page 217), have occupied his old age in re-building for his nephew's benefit. But it is more likely that it was the nephew himself, who, coming in with youthful freshness at a period when death duties were unknown, initiated the work, but left it unfinished at his death in 1715. The seventh viscount was an uncle, already aged and with no more than four years of life before him when he succeeded. A distant cousin became the eighth viscount, but, although his death did not occur

till 1738, it is his son, the Honourable Charles Fairfax who is spoken of—perhaps through his father's mental deficiencies—as holding the estates. From this devolution and from the differing character of portions of the eighteenth-century work, we may infer that the fabric of the west front and the decorative scheme of the hall were well forward in 1715, but that after that there was little done until the reign of the Honourable Charles began, and that he was responsible for the work in the gallery and some of the other rooms.

The Ettons had shaped their principal building as a tall rectangle some 80ft. square, with walls quite 6ft. thick, and it may, therefore, be compared to the largest size of Border county pele tower. It was set on sloping ground, so that the east side towers up (Fig. 296), a staircase excrescence having six windows in vertical line. It was southward of this excrescence that Sir William effected the considerable alterations necessary for him to get sufficient space and proper fenestration for his Great Chamber and for the room above it. What he did to the north and west, and to what extent he re-decorated the interior we do not know, because it was all afterwards treated in the Vanbrugh manner, except the Great Chamber and the undercroft. In the latter something of mediæval times remains, and it only required a removal of eighteenth-century blocking to discover two Edwardian



294.—SKETCH PLAN OF THE MAIN FLOOR.

A, the platform in front of the main entrance; B, the hall; C, the tripartite gallery; D, the south wing drawing-room; E, the Elizabethan Room; F, the north-east room; G, G, G, G, rooms in the north wing.



295.—THE WESTERN FRONT AND ITS WINGS.



296.—THE SOUTH AND EAST SIDES.

doorways 5ft. in width, that to the east having shields bearing the Etton arms on the arch moulding, beyond which are portcullis grooves. The eighteenth-century alterations dealt lightly with the north, east and south elevations. Where necessary, sash windows were introduced, but the walls are all of the plainest rubble—even the outer sides of the projecting wings, which may have incorporated certain portions of old walling, but were essentially new construction that greatly altered the character and disposition of the house. Thus, Thomas Gill, in his "History of Easingwold," published in 1852, tells us that—

The west side of the Castle, which is now the front, has windows of the date of the adaptation to more modern wants, from the designs of Sir John Vanbrugh, who with his able assistant, Mr. William Wakefield, and his Italian plasterers, Cortese, &c.—a school of artists which we have lately seen expire—appear to have been constantly employed in this part of Yorkshire.

Here, as elsewhere, the picturesqueness of the situation appealed to Vanbrugh's dramatic sense: The roadway rises from the village along the northern slope of the spur, which is thickly



297.—THE WEST AND NORTH SIDES OF THE HALL.

wooded, and, as at Duncombe, you swing round southward before you are aware that the house is there, and then the imposing west, or forecourt, side bursts upon you (Fig. 295). A space 75ft. across is flanked by the wings that project some 100ft. from the main building and end with pavilions, to which three bays give the character of octagons (Fig. 294). The wings are kept a little lower than the main building, which, owing to the much higher ground level, has as little of the vertical form of a pele tower as it has of early detail. The whole is reserved and dignified, there is no profusion of detail, but what there is is large and arresting. As at Duncombe, flights of steps ascend to a platform (Fig. 292) from which rises the great door-case, which, in front of the rustication, has a pediment supported by Ionic columns. The same rustication, with strikingly large and projecting keystones, frames the windows at this level, both those of the main pile and of the wings. Those above are of the square "attic" form, framed by a moulded architrave. The *piano nobile* stands upon a moulded plinth that rests on the massive undercroft. All is of ashlar, the plain surfaces of which have the same curious treatment as we found



208.—THE EAST AND SOUTH SIDES OF THE HALL.

upon the Duncombe gateway (Fig. 289), that is to say, the whole surface is roughly chiselled with little irregular incised squares about three-quarters of an inch across and a sixteenth of an inch deep. Assuredly, this treatment supports the view that, although Vanbrugh gave a general design, Wakefield filled in the details and superintended the execution. Trifling as this surface treatment is, it, nevertheless, serves its purpose of producing some contrast between the large surfaces and the detail work of window-cases, plinths and parapets.

Crossing the threshold, we find that a portion of the ancient building has been transformed into a hall (Fig. 298), quite in the Vanbrugh manner. The walls, however, are not ashlar-lined, but are of plaster, otherwise, in general disposition and in the character of the parts, it is not unlike the hall at Duncombe. The plaster swags and shellwork, we gather from what Gill says, were wrought by Cortese, a worker in the like material and manner as his fellow-countrymen



299.—THE CENTRAL AND EAST COMPARTMENTS OF THE GALLERY.

Artari and Bagutti, who were working at the same period for Campbell, Gibbs and Smith of Warwick.

Passing through a little intermediary room where we still find some Elizabethan woodwork, we reach the south wing, disposed as a tripartite gallery (Fig. 299), over 100ft. long, with a three-bayed parlour entered from its west end. The woodwork of the gallery is typical of what the school of York joiners were turning out at the time, for, although M. Nadauld and other non-Yorkshire artificers were employed at Castle Howard, there is no reason to suppose that Wakefield did not employ his fellow-townsmen at Gilling, where the work, although a little later, is of the same class as at Beningborough (page 236), another house in this neighbourhood with which tradition connects the name of Vanbrugh, although there is nothing conclusively characteristic of the former, as at Duncombe and Gilling. The carved details of window, door and panel frames, and of the columned screens and chimneypieces in the Gilling gallery provide sufficient detail in themselves, and the Victorian painting and picking out, probably the work of the firm of Crace, mars, rather than enhances, the effect. Whorled scrolls, broken architraves and broken pediments



300.—THE WEST COMPARTMENT OF THE GALLERY.



301.—DOORWAY AND CHIMNEYPiece IN THE WEST COMPARTMENT OF THE GALLERY.



302.—CHINA CUPBOARD IN THE NORTH WALL OF THE GALLERY.
It exactly matches the window-frames along the south wall.

are the characteristics of the framing of side doorways and of the windows, including those turned into china cabinets (Fig. 302). The chimneypieces (Fig. 301) situated in each of the end sections likewise have broken pediments, but the end doorway of the western section (Fig. 300) is on much the same model as the stone casing of the front door—that is, of an unbroken pediment supported by Ionic pillars—but, being of wood and for interior work, it is more ornate, the columns being fluted and the cornices richly modillioned in the same manner as the ceiling cornice above. Through this doorway we reach the end sitting-room (Fig. 294 D), one of the three bays of which is used for the chimneypiece, while that to the west is formed into a recess framed by an Ionic twin-columned screen (Fig. 304).

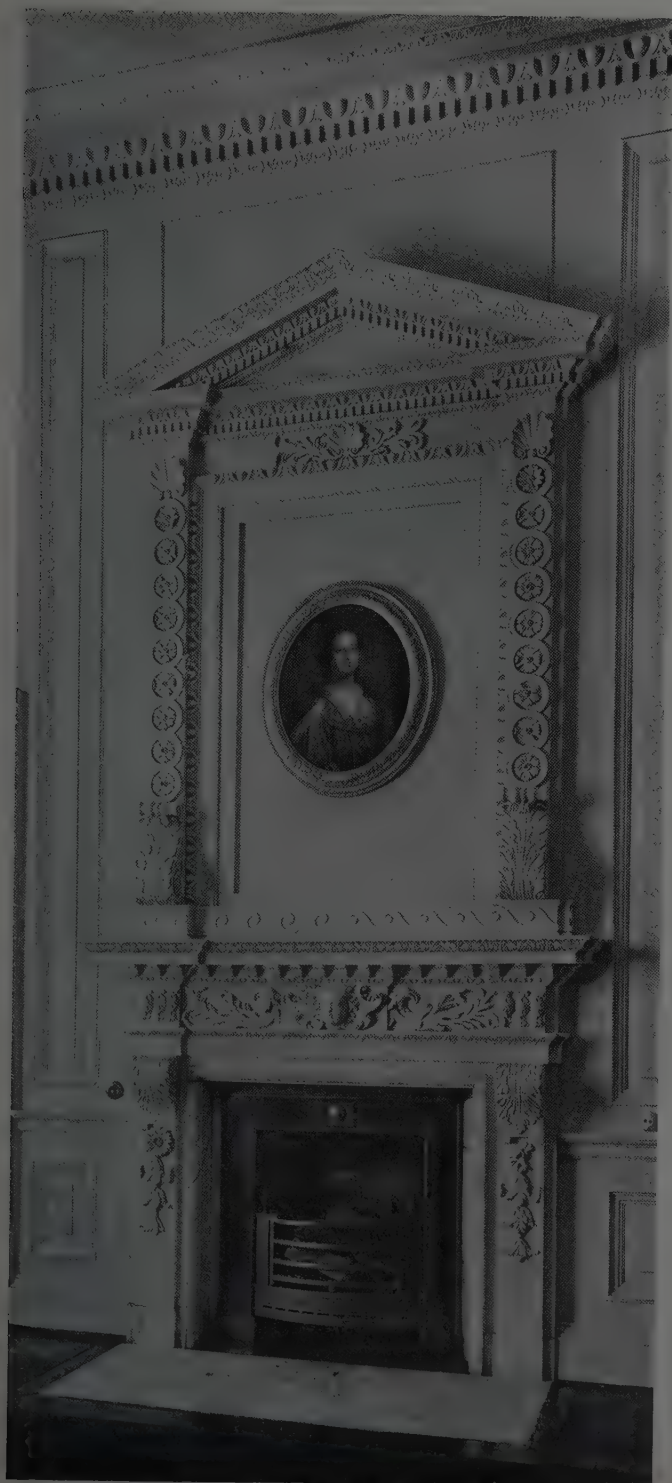
To the north, the space used by the gallery, although a little shorter, is divided into four rooms (G), all pleasantly, if simply, decorated with moulded wainscoting, enriched ceiling friezes and carved wooden chimneypieces (Figs. 305 and 306). Through the western one we reach another three-bayed room, now adapted for billiards. The only other room to which reference need be made is that at the north-east corner (F). Here, again, we find a richly modillioned ceiling cornice,



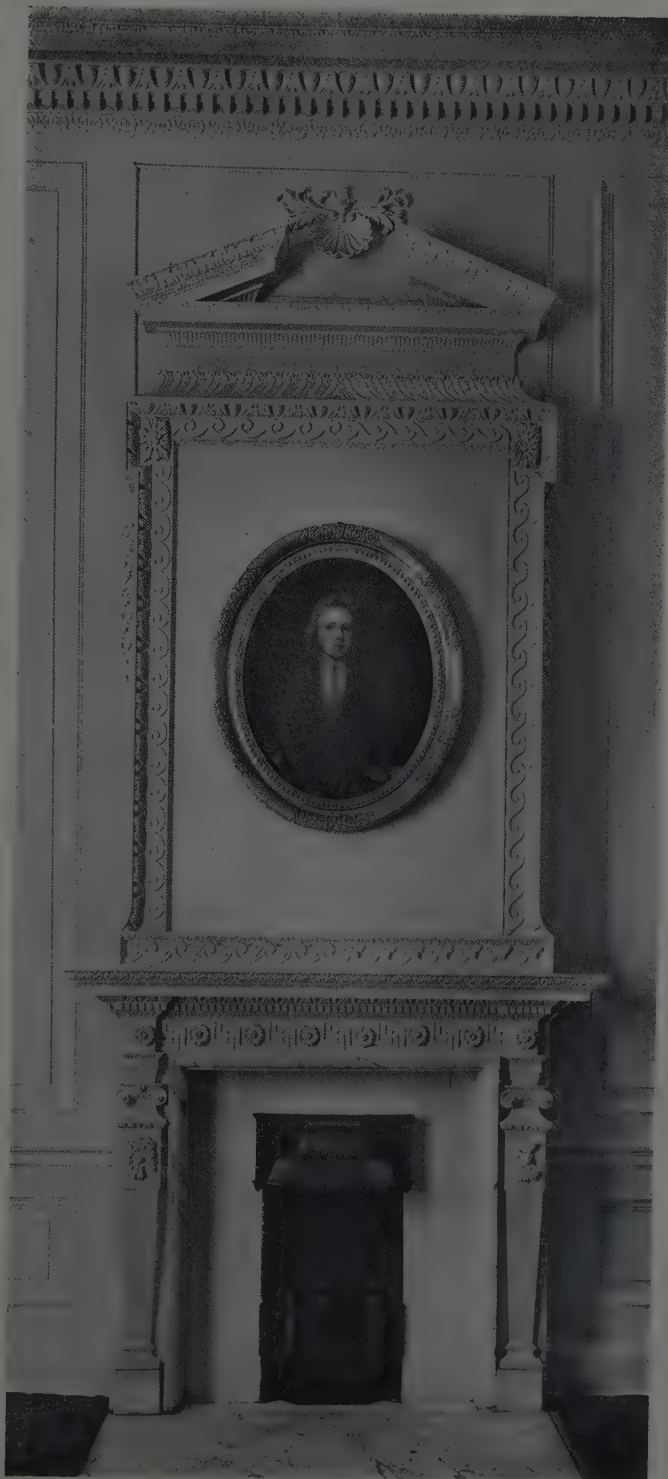
303.—IN THE NORTH-EAST ROOM.



304.—IN THE SOUTH-WEST DRAWING-ROOM.



305.—IN THE LIBRARY.



306.—IN THE WHITE BEDROOM.

below which, in the frieze, are elaborately carved *motifs* in the centres and corners, the scrollwork of the latter terminating in human masks or griffin heads (Fig. 303). The chimneypiece is of that corner kind that dates from the days when Wren was re-building Hampton Court for William III. Such receding-topped corner chimneypieces, shelved for the then fashionable Oriental china, continued into Queen Anne's reign, together with the bolection-moulded fire-arch, variants of the latter recurring at Castle Howard (Fig. 34), while Beningborough affords us a whole series of corner chimneypieces (Figs. 350 to 354). The treatment of this room is, probably, of the same date as the hall, and anterior to that of the rooms in the wings, which tell of the days of the Hon. Charles. Of him we hear in Drake's "Eboracum," published in 1736. As a subscriber, he is entered as "the Honourable Charles Fairfax of Gilling Esquire," and farther on he is described as not merely the owner of Gilling, but also of the earlier Fairfax possession at Walton. In George III's time the line of viscounts expired, but Gilling continued in the female line until recent times, when it was acquired by Mr. W. S. Hunter, who effected large renovations, and he has been succeeded by Captain Kenneth Hunter, the present owner.



307.—THE WEST SIDE OF THE GREAT CHAMBER.

CHAPTER XII

COMPTON VERNEY, WARWICKSHIRE

WAS it Vanbrugh whom George Verney, Dean of Windsor and twelfth Baron Willoughby de Broke, employed to design the new house that he decided to build on the ancestral estate of Compton Verney after he succeeded his brother, the eleventh baron, in 1711? Of that we cannot be certain, for there is nothing more than family tradition on which to rely in support of this view. But that the house then built was in the Vanbrugh manner, and certainly inspired, if not actually designed, by him, is quite clear, and it therefore comes in the same category as Duncombe, Gilling and Oulton. George Vertue, who visited it in 1737, describes it as "a well built house of 1714." Twenty-three years after his visit the builder-dean's great-nephew, John Peyto, fourteenth Baron Willoughby de Broke, called in Robert Adam to alter and extend the house. This was, probably, the first time that Adam was brought into close contact with the Vanbrugh manner, and here it may be that he learnt to value his predecessor's "movement, novelty and ingenuity," and decided that he was "a great man who had been subjected to a torrent of unworthy prejudice and abuse." Whether that be so or not, it is quite clear that he respected what he found at Compton Verney and made his alterations to tally with it.

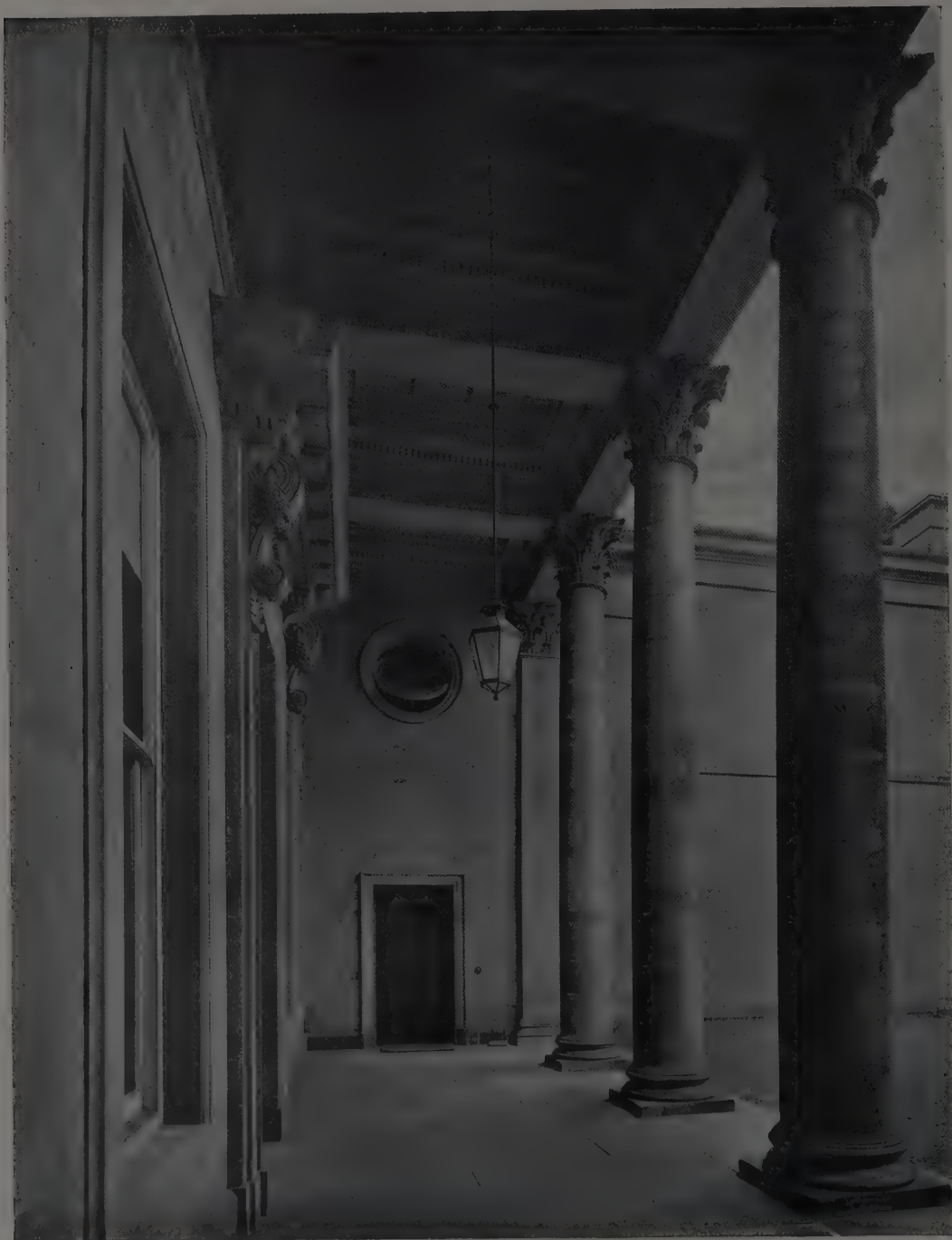
Fig. 313 is a general plan of the ground floor of the house—based on an original at the Soane Museum. It shows that Adam threw out, on the forecourt side, long wings where there had been short ones, and that the 1714 house bore close resemblance in plan to Duncombe Park, as given in the "Vitruvius Britannicus" and dated 1713 (Fig. 282). The latter, indeed, is a good deal larger, but both plans show a slightly projecting centre on the garden side and slightly projecting ends on the forecourt side. At Compton Verney, the centre of the former side (Fig. 311) is of five-window width, and its flanking ends each of three.



308.—FROM THE EAST.



309.—ROBERT ADAM'S DRAWING OF THE SOUTH-EAST ELEVATION.



310.—THE 1760 PORTICO.

In the Duncombe plan the same number of windows are somewhat differently distributed, the centre having seven and the sides two each. At Duncombe only is there a portico, but at both houses there are the same lofty Doric pilasters carrying a massive entablature and parapet. At Duncombe the round-headed windows are limited to the ground floor of the centre

portion, whereas at Compton Verney the whole of the two ranges are composed of them, with mighty key-stones rising from them to support a string-course above the first range and the entablature above the second. Had Vanbrugh's favourite $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide sash-barring—such as we see it still at Greenwich (Fig. xviii)—not been replaced in Victorian times by sheets of plate glass, this elevation would have been a very satisfying and complete example of his manner—even more so than of Hawksmoor's, although we must remember that by 1714 the latter was so imbued with his coadjutor's manner that it is often difficult to distinguish between



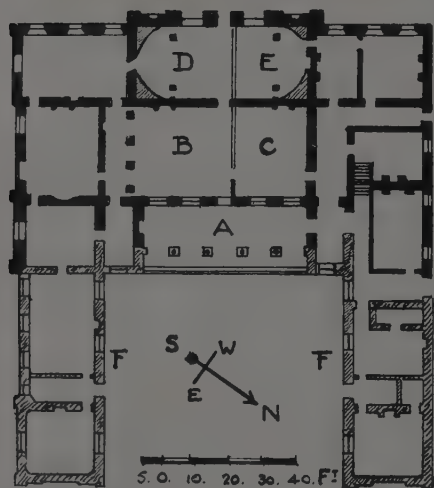
311.—THE 1714, OR SOUTH-WEST, FRONT.

them. Thus the stables (Fig. 315), where the round-headed window is not introduced, are very much in Hawksmoor's manner, as revealed in his London churches. But in its general proportions and in the detail of both its ranges of windows it is practically a replica of the west front of Gilling Castle (Fig. 295), with which—rightly or wrongly—the name of Vanbrugh is associated with that of Wakefield and not that of Hawksmoor.

The garden front faces south-west, and to the south-east Vanbrugh built a four-windowed elevation with slightly recessed two-windowed centre, the character of the fenestration being



312.—THE HALL, AS ALTERED IN 1760.

313.—PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR:
SOLID 1714, HATCHED 1760.

A, the front door; B, C, 1714 rooms, converted into hall 1760; D, E, 1714 rooms, converted into dining-room 1760; F, F, 1760 wings.

exactly similar to that on the south-west side. The ends have pediments containing semicircular windows resembling those in the Clarendon building at Oxford on which we have seen Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor engaged very much at the moment when George Verney came into possession of Compton Verney and will have begun considering the plans of his new house. The throwing-out by Adam, on the forecourt side, of long wings almost doubled the length of this south-east elevation, and he designed his

addition not as something original or fully in his own manner, but as a faithful continuation of his predecessor's work (Fig. 308). Vanbrugh's end pediment became the central one, and beyond it was added a three-windowed recessed section and a new facsimile end treated as a pavilion, to which, on the forecourt side, he gave his own touch in the form of a Venetian window below and a square-headed one above. The opposite wing he, of course, made to match this one, and in front of the original recessed centre he threw across a long portico supported by Corinthian columns (Fig. 310). Inside the house we find nothing of decorative importance belonging to the 1714 date, and not very much of what was introduced by Adam, who very largely altered the disposition of the rooms. His hall, indeed, does remain very much as he left it (Fig. 312); but in 1855, as Mr. Arthur Bolton tells us, "the State rooms were redecorated in a modern semi-Italian style, the architect being John Gibson, a pupil of Sir Charles Barry." To Mr. Arthur Bolton, who has written on the subject as part of his great work on Robert



314.—THE HOUSE, SEEN FROM THE BRIDGE.

Adam, we owe the discovery at Compton Verney of Adam's original drawing for his extension of the south-east side. He calls it "a Design for an addition to the south front corresponding to the old part of the house as much as possible," and he signed it in full and added the date 1760 (Fig. 309).

The original builder of this house ranked as the twelfth holder of the barony that a cadet of the Willoughby D'Eresby stock had earned by his support of Henry VII at Bosworth. But the title was in abeyance during much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The third holder should have been Elizabeth Willoughby, wife of Sir Fulke Greville. She and her Greville heir, however, never claimed the title; nor was it borne by her descendant, Margaret Greville, wife to Sir Richard Verney of Compton Verney. Her grandson, Sir Richard Verney, however, claimed and was allowed it in 1696. He was then seventy-five and lived on till he was ninety years of age. It was then that his youngest but only surviving son, George, the Canon of Windsor, succeeded to both title and estates and became Dean of Windsor two years later. He had married the heiress of the Heaths of Brasted Place, and it was, perhaps, the sale of that estate that gave him the cash for replacing the old home of his family which we read of in Dugdale's "History of Warwickshire." It lay low by the waterside, but the new house was set a little higher, and is reached across a stone bridge (Fig. 314) that spans a sheet of water which, like the noble cedars on its marge, was part of the changes made by Capability Brown as a then proper setting for the house that Robert Adam was enlarging.



315.—THE STABLES.

CHAPTER XIII

OULTON PARK, CHESHIRE

WHY John Egerton, a bachelor aged sixty, after seventeen years of occupancy of the old house at Oulton, decided to replace it by an entirely new one would be difficult to explain. But there is no doubt about it. He himself states that he "came to a resolution to do so," and the tradition, mentioned by Ormerod in his "History of Cheshire," that the new house was built because the old one was burned down seems to have no foundation in fact. That catastrophe was reserved for John Egerton's house, which was consumed by fire in February, 1926. Another tradition connected with the house gives John Vanbrugh as its designer, and, although we have no documentary evidence of this, it is extremely likely that, if he did not design it, he was at least John Egerton's adviser and the inspirer of some local architect. Oulton lies east of Chester, where Vanbrugh's father had established himself and where Vanbrugh himself will have lived till he grew up. That he retained some connection with the city we judge from the letter that he wrote to Lord Carlisle in the autumn of 1701, which has this postscript: "I shall be about Chester at least a week. If y^r Ldship has any service for me, please to direct me at Mr Samuell Taylors in Chester." Oulton is not far from Cholmondeley Park, and there also tradition has it that Vanbrugh was engaged, although the "Vitruvius Britannicus" does not assign to him the house that it illustrates, but which, in more recent times, has given way to one in the Victorian-Gothic manner. As far as the house itself at Oulton offers evidence, it is certainly not, like Duncombe, conclusive. There is nothing of the Vanbrugh massiveness, of his affection for stone rather than for brick, of his huge keystones, of his clustered pilasters, or of his groups of solid chimney-shafts rising high and connected by arches. His favourite round-headed windows appear only in the centre of the north, or entrance, elevation (Fig. 318), and this centre, all of ashlar, with its mighty engaged Corinthian columns, and the general character of its entablature and pediment, is very much in Vanbrugh's manner, as is the great hall (Fig. 319) to which it forms the outer wall. It is, indeed, not stone-lined, as at Castle Howard and Blenheim, Duncombe and Seaton Delaval; but then, John Egerton was not a very rich man, and even,



316.—THE SOUTH FRONT.



317.—NICHE IN THE SMALL DINING-ROOM.

as it was, his house-building involved his finances. The hall, therefore, as at Gilling, is carried out in wood and in stucco, and may well have been the work of the same plasterers. There is a further resemblance in the ceiling, where a form of vaulting to which Vanbrugh was partial is used, but with much variety in detail. Through the hall were reached the State rooms of the south or garden façade (Fig. 316), and the arrangement here may well have been decided by



318.—THE EAST AND NORTH SIDES.



319.—THE HALL.

Vanbrugh, for he was able to get a suite of three rooms almost as lofty as the hall, whereas the side and return ends of the house are taken up by rooms of lesser height, in one of which occurs a shell-headed niche (Fig. 317) that resembles one at Kings Weston (Fig. 202).

The exterior, although it is comparatively light and graceful in treatment, has a good deal of the movement and grouping of parts so characteristic of Vanbrugh. Unlike its moated predecessor, it stands on an elevated plateau, and, therefore, the position was as picturesque and dramatic as was obtainable in a region of modest undulations with no steepness. The sky-line, though suave, is full of incident, as in the shape and treatment of the seven pediments and of the flat-topped attic storey in the centre of the south façade. As John Egerton succeeded in 1698 and did not begin re-building till 1715, Oulton is of much the same date as Claremont and Eastbury, a little later than Kings Weston and Compton Verney, and earlier than Lumley and Grimsthorpe. If he did not design it, it yet belongs to the moment when his assistance and advice were being sought after, and stood as a proof of his influence, so that its loss is greatly to be regretted.

CHAPTER XIV

BENINGBROUGH HALL, YORKSHIRE

DID John Bouchier, who was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1719, seek the assistance of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor—one or both of them—when he decided to erect a new house in the new mode on his ancestral acres of Beningbrough? That we do not know, for there is a curious paucity of references to the Beningbrough Bouchiers in the eighteenth-century records and annals of Yorkshire, whether they be public or private. General Dawnay—last of the owners to hold it by descent since it passed from religious to lay hands under Henry VIII and vendor of it to Lord Chesterfield in 1917—tells us that “no papers about the building of Beningbrough have ever been discoverable; and at least since my great grandfather’s time there has been nothing but the vague Vanbrugh tradition.” In the case of the two neighbouring houses that we have been discussing—Duncombe Park and Gilling Castle—that tradition is by no means so vague, and is, moreover, much enforced by many leading architectural features.

At Beningbrough, however, such decisive features are by no means prominent. We shall find that there is little that we can point out as strongly savouring of the manner of Vanbrugh, or of Hawksmoor while under the Vanbrugh influence. Yet, from its date and from its character, Beningbrough must certainly rank as one of the houses referred to by Vanbrugh in his 1721 letter to Brigadier Watkins, where, writing from Castle Howard, he tells him that “Here are Several Gentlemen in these Parts of the World that are possess’d with the Spirit of Building.”

Beningbrough is a township of Newton, a parish stretching along



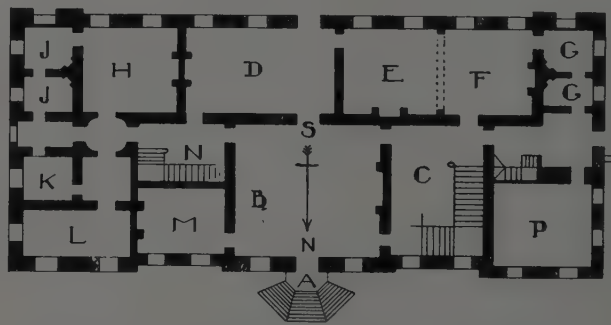
320.—THE CENTRE OF THE NORTH, OR ENTRANCE, FRONT.

the north bank of the Ouse as that river wends its south-easterly way towards York city. In mediæval times that city had a direct connection with the township that lies no more than half a dozen miles north-west of it. York was not only the political, but the religious, capital of the north, and within its walls were several religious foundations which the piety of the age endowed with great estates in the vicinity. Thus, we find Peter de Bruse giving nine oxgangs of Beningbrough land to the great abbey of St. Mary, of which the ruins, in their ample grounds, strike the eye of the visitor entering the city from the railway station. Drake, in his *Eboracum*, tells that the abbey also held "a fine park well stocked with game in Beningbrough," and he prints King John's grant of it. Quite as extensive, however, appear to have been the acres in the township bestowed upon the Hospital of St. Leonards, which Drake describes as "one of the antientest, as well as noblest, foundations of the kind in Britain." It was situated in the city by the Ouse, and the street now called Lendall is considered by Drake to be a corruption of Leonard's Hill. We find that its master and brethren obtained Royal licence in 1284 to enclose what is still called the Old Deer Park, then consisting of some hundred acres of their demesne land and also of fifty-six acres of adjoining wood. This



321.—THE HOUSE AND ITS OUTLIERS, FROM THE NORTH.

was a distinct concession on the part of the Crown, within the boundaries of whose forest of Galtres not only this land, but the whole parish of Newton, lay. Three centuries later we shall find that the rights of the owner of Beningbrough in certain of the forest areas were a source of hot dispute with the Crown. Under Edward I the Hospital was extending its Beningbrough property, for it was at much the same time as the emparking was allowed that the chief local lay-owners, Henry de Beningbrough and his son William, gave or confirmed to the brethren extensive enclosures in the township, all described by name and position in a surviving charter, and including the place "where the house of the brethren is placed." That, probably, was the Grange wherein Thomas Magnus, last of the masters of the Hospital, was allowed to dwell after he had dutifully and without demur surrendered the Hospital to Henry VIII in 1539. Five years later the King granted the reversion of the Hospital's Beningbrough estate to one John Banister, who will have entered into possession when Magnus died. From that day to the year 1917, Beningbrough, as already stated, passed by inheritance to successive



322.—SKETCH PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR.

A, the front door; B, the hall; C, the great staircase; D, the dining-room (over it is part of the saloon); E, the drawing-room, east half (over it is the rest of the saloon); F, the drawing-room, west half (over it is Lady Chesterfield's bedroom); G, G, small rooms (over them are Lady Chesterfield's dressing-rooms); H, State bedroom; J, J, State dressing-rooms; K, lavatory; L, a bedroom; M, smoking-room; N, lesser staircase; P, study.

owners, the most important of whom were an off-shoot of the Bouchier family that looms large in Church and State from the days of Edward III to those of Henry VIII. Edward III made Robert Bouchier his Lord Chancellor in 1340, this being the first appointment of a layman to that high office. Robert's grandson was William Bouchier, Count of Eu, who became the second husband of Anne Plantagenet, daughter to Thomas of Woodstock, Edward III's fifth son. She took as her first husband a Stafford, and her son by him was the fourth Earl of Stafford and first Duke of Buckingham. By her second husband she had several sons, who became men of leading in the State, but, unlike their Stafford relatives, the Bouchiers almost all kept their heads upon their shoulders during the struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster. One son was Thomas, Lord Chancellor and Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, who, with fine impartiality, officiated alike at the crownings of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII. His elder brother, Henry, Count of Eu by succession from his father, and Baron Bouchier by succession to a cousin, was made Earl of Essex by Edward IV, whose Lord Treasurer he was and whose sister he



323.—FROM THE NORTH-EAST.



324.—LOOKING FROM THE EAST ARCHWAY TO THE WEST PAVILION.



325.—THE SOUTH SIDE.

of Froissart's Chronicles. By his wife, a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, he had no sons, but the child of one Elizabeth Becon claimed him as father, took the Bourehier name and made a success of life. His father could not endow him, for the Berners fortune was not of an ampleness to meet, uninjured, the expenses of one of the company to whom the costliness of the Field of Gold was no very exceptional incident in a life of splendour. Hence he retired to Calais, of which he was made Deputy Governor, and that gave him plenty of scope and leisure for the life of letters of which the Froissart translation was the chief outcome. The deputyship lasted eleven years, and did not end until Lord Berners' death in 1533. The bastard son was then of the garrison, and was, or became, Lieutenant of the outlying castle of Ambleteuse. At Calais also served Sir Humphrey Banister, whose daughter

married. It is, however, with a younger brother, Sir John, that, in the piecing together of the history of Beningbrough, we are concerned. He became Baron Berners in 1455, and a score of years later was succeeded in title by a grandson, who was one of the gorgeous train that glowed round Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1519. He has, however, a better title to fame than that, for to him we owe the first English translation



326.—THE CLOCK CUPOLA.



327.—THE SOUTH-EAST PARTERRE.



328.—THE SOUTH PORTAL.

Over the door a cartouche displays the Bouchier arms impaling those of Bellwood, and above is the crested helm.



329.—THE GREAT STAIRCASE (C ON PLAN).

Mary, despite the young man's origin, made a match that turned out very well for him, since she was sister and eventually heiress to her brother John, the very man to whom the Beningbrough reversion had been granted in 1544.

Thus was this line of left-hand B ouchiers established as a Yorkshire county family, and the irregularity of their descent was conveniently forgotten. The Stafford knot and the Bouchier arms that decorate the doorways of the present house at Beningbrough stand forth without trace of illegitimacy marring their fair surface, and when Dugdale made his Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665 he planted the family tree boldly and without any pre-

paration of the soil. There is no mention of James, the Calais man-at-arms, but the pedigree starts with Mary Banister's son "S^r Raufe." It is with this knight that begins the trouble with the verderers of Galtres forest. Sir Ralph, as successor to St. Leonard's Hospital, insisted on his privilege of cutting bough wood—that is, of having rights of estoffage—in West Moor, and this was resisted by representatives of the Crown. The dispute, however, did not wax furious until the days of Sir Ralph's grandson, Sir John, who not only exercised his claim of cutting sixty loads of wood per annū, but also asserted his right of common pasture for three hundred sheep and sixty cattle. Although this was termed by the Crown authorities a "pretence of title in the forest," yet they were willing to compromise, and he was offered and accepted ninety-five acres of West Moor in lieu of his "pretence." That, however, did not quiet him, and his depredations continued. But he soon found that he had a tough man to deal with. Least of all in his own home county, was Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, likely to submit to trespasses on Royal lands after his appointment as Lord President of the North in 1628. To him Sir John—whose father, Sir William, appears to have died insane—was "little better than mad, one grain more would weigh him down to a direct Fury." His "insolent carriage"—as Strafford wrote to Coke in 1633—"is his daily



330.—THE HALL (B ON PLAN).



331.—LOOKING DOWN FROM CORRIDOR INTO THE HALL.



332.—THE CORRIDOR, LOOKING FROM WEST TO EAST.

bread" and, despite the composition recently concluded, "he hath been scolding me this two years because I would not give him the king's land and now finally he plays this May game." The "May game" had consisted of pulling down fences, and for this act the offender was brought before the Star Chamber and condemned to fine and imprisonment. Not only the Lord President, but the King himself, incurred the undying hostility of Sir John, who bided his time until the Long Parliament



333.—THE CORRIDOR, LOOKING FROM EAST TO WEST.

met, and his "grievance" could be turned into one of the indictments against Strafford. And it was not against the Minister only, but against the latter's master, also, that Sir John, in due course, found himself able to wreak his vengeance. He was of those who, on January 27th, 1649, passed sentence of death upon the King. That act was likely to prove awkward for him eleven years later when, soon after the Restoration, ten of the regicides suffered the

death penalty that they had meted out to Charles. The final blow, however, was dealt to Sir John not by man, but by God, for, while his case was still pending he died, stoutly defending his deed: "I tell you, it was a just act; God and all good men will own it." Among those, however, who certainly did not own it and did their best to counteract it was his son Barrington, who, having aided the Restoration, obtained the grant of the estates that the father had forfeited. He also found means to add to them the adjacent manor of Overton, where he still found standing the Grange of the Abbey of St. Mary, with wainscoted parlour and heraldic glass in the windows. He was lord of the Beningbrough manor when Dugdale made his Visitation five years later.

Of that Visitation a new edition was published in 1899 by Mr. J. W. Clay which continues the Bouchier pedigree (Vol. I, page 305). But neither he nor a fellow-antiquary who aided him with notes was able to find anything but the barest mention of the John Bouchier to whom we owe the present house of Beningbrough. Of the regicide's son, Barrington, we hear that he married a Strickland of Boynton, by whom he had a son of the same name, born in Commonwealth days and dying in 1700. He was the Sir Barrington Bouchier who, by his first wife Judith Milbank, had one or more sons that died in his lifetime, so that it was John, the elder son by his second wife, Margaret Hardwick, who succeeded him. Mr. Clay found that he married Mary, daughter of Roger Bellwood, Serjeant-at-Law, but the only public event in his career that has transpired is, as we find in Drake's *Eboracum*, published in 1736, that he served as High Sheriff of his county in the sixth year of the reign of George I, that is, in 1719-20, which is eight years earlier than we have found Thomas Duncombe holding that office (page 196). As to John Bouchier's private doings, and



334.—A STAIR LANDING TELLS THE DATE OF THE HOUSE.



335.—THE UPWARD SWEEP OF THE GREAT STAIR.



336.—THE DINING-ROOM (D ON PLAN).



337.—THE DINING-ROOM CHIMNEYPIECE.

especially as to his building operations, there has been complete silence. The Victoria History of Yorkshire tells us that "traces of the old Manor House can still be seen south of the present Beningbrough Hall which stands in the centre of a beautiful park, occupying almost a third of the entire township; the house is a large 17th century mansion." If the latter assertion were true, then Sir Barrington, and not his son John, would have been the builder. Fortunately, however, the latter did take care that there should be no doubt as to that matter. Carved over the front door in stone and in the interior decorations in wood we have the cipher J.M.B., for John and Mary Bouchier, and let into the parquetry of the staircase we meet with the same initials and the date 1716 (Fig. 334). From that we may certainly venture to deduce that it was in his new house that John Bouchier held his shrievalty.

Approaching the house from the north, we see its long, simple, but dignified, front standing at the bottom of a deep forecourt (Fig. 321) that stretches forward in segments and rectangles, much as we have seen was devised for Blenheim and Easton Neston, but without lofty incidents or other architectural elaborations. The scheme of segmental walls set with niches and



338.—LOOKING FROM EAST TO WEST IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

screening offices and passages between the house and the base-courts which are entered by archways through lofty cupolaed buildings, accords, like the form of the forecourt, with Vanbrugh's conception of the right grouping and distribution of a great country house and its outliers. There is, however, nothing typical of his love of mass and movement; the main pile shows us no clustered pilasters, no huge keystones and no cyclopean rustication, as at Blenheim, Kimbolton, Duncombe and Seaton Delaval. Simple design is joined to refined lines and delicate detail. The latter is especially noticeable in the portal (Fig. 320), which, although of the Doric order, is light in design. Its overhanging cornice (matching that of the roof) supports a sculptured group of horses and drapery flanking a cartouche containing the cipher already alluded to, flanked by the knot which the fifteenth-century Bouchiers, like the Staffords, adopted as their favourite badge. Above two lofty storeys runs an entablature, the frieze of which has great depth, and along it, in pairs, are set great consoles that support the overhanging cornice. The



339.—THE WEST HALF OF THE DRAWING-ROOM (F ON PLAN).

space between every other pair of consoles is wide enough to accommodate the attic windows, and it is noticeable that the setting of such attic windows within an entablature frieze was resorted to by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor at the Clarendon Press building (Fig. xxvi), dating from the days when Beningbrough was in hand. The two main storeys of windows are of the same height and are similarly treated, that is, without stone or other moulded architrave. They are brick apertures, as simple as Robert Adam would have contrived half a century later. Detail in stone is confined to the central feature, the portal and the window above it—and to the quoins that mark the corners of the three slightly projecting sections of the eleven-window elevation. The tower-like pavilions that mark the entrances to the base courts have their roofs topped with cupolas carrying out in wood the details of the house as regards rustication and Doric order. That to the west (Fig. 324) contains a bell, while that to the east shelters clock dials (Fig. 326). The connecting walls between main pile and pavilions are topped with a stone balustrade, and presence is given to them by somewhat projecting the sections that



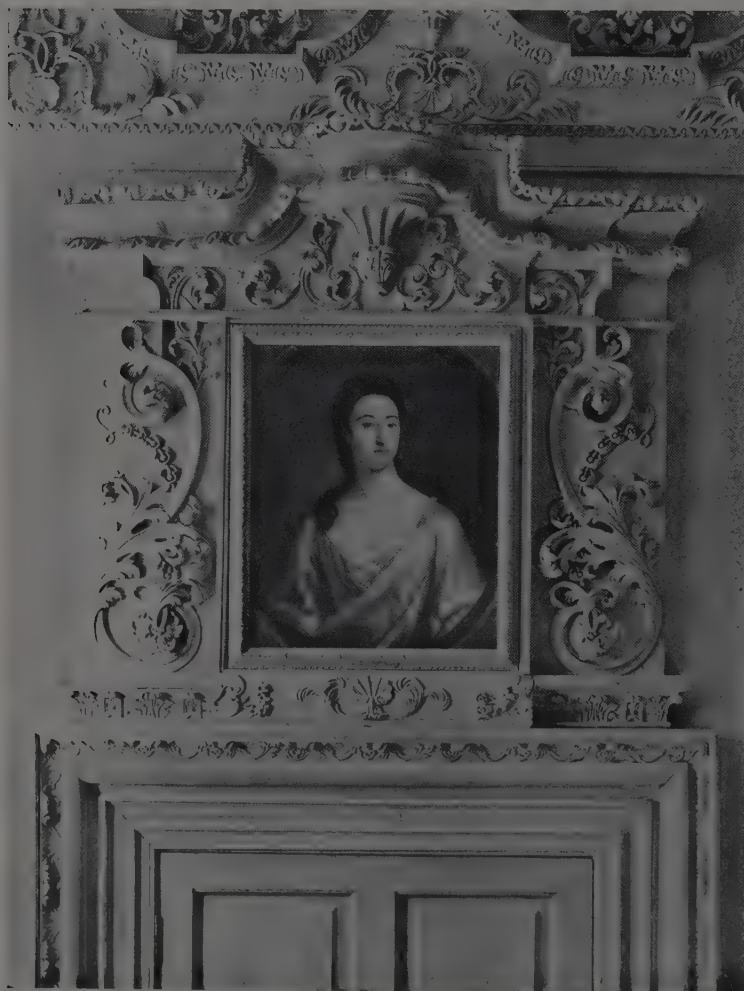
341.—THE WEST DRAWING-ROOM CHIMNEYPIECE.



340.—LOOKING FROM WEST TO EAST IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.



342.—THE EAST OVER-DOOR IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.



343.—THE NORTH OVER-DOOR IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

contain the tall niches, such projection being much in the spirit of those that we have seen Vanbrugh introducing so freely along the walls of the Claremont garden (Fig. 236).

The south side of Beningbrough (Fig. 325) only differs from that to the north in that there is no projecting centre and the end projections are only of single-window width. In the middle we again find a stone portal with a stone-framed window above. The portal (Fig. 328) is the one arresting feature of the elevation; its segmental pediment is set upon Ionic columns and the whole design has the grace of Wren rather than the massiveness of Vanbrugh. The aperture, fitted with glass, is one of the three windows that light the dining-room (Fig. 322 D), and has a broken architrave and an elaborately carved outer moulding of bolecion form. The keystone forms the lower section of a magnificently carved cartouche containing the arms of the builder impaling those of his wife. We have seen that Dugdale, in his *Visitation*, ignores the irregular ancestry of the Beningbrough Bouchiers. He sets down "St. Raufe" as rightly bearing the arms of his grandfather, that is, not only those of the legitimate Bouchiers, but also those of Lovaine, Berners and Tilney. John Bouchier, however, only used the engrailed cross between four water-bougets of Bouchier. Above the shield is a helm, crested as Dugdale describes—an old man's head crowned with a ducal coronet, out of which hangs a long tasselled cap. The device that appears in the right-hand half of the shield is evidently intended for what in heraldry is called a galtrap or caltrap, a corruption of the French word *chevaltrape*, which was an iron ball with projecting spikes forming an instrument thrown upon the ground to injure the feet of horses. John Bouchier's stone-carver does not represent it exactly as the heralds generally draw it. There cannot, however, be any doubt as to what is intended. Moreover, looking up Dugdale's "Armoury," we find the following: "Belwood—gules three galtraps argent." It is, therefore, Bouchier empaling Bellwood that this shield displays.



344.—THE CORNICE OF THE WEST DRAWING-ROOM.
The cipher of John and Mary Bourchier is freely introduced.



345.—THE CORNICE OF THE EAST DRAWING-ROOM.

Stepping through the north door (A), we enter the two-storeyed hall (B), which calls to mind the two neighbouring houses of Duncombe and Gilling. It is akin to the Duncombe hall (Fig. 285) in its great Corinthian pilasters and in its series of round-headed apertures—not merely the form, but the mouldings, being identical. Like Gilling (Fig. 298)—and like Oulton also (Fig. 319)—the ceiling has a form of vaulting carried out in plaster. Like them also, the walls are of plaster, but no Italian stuccoist will have been employed here, for there is nothing in that material beyond what could be done by a local plasterer, such as John Bagnall, whom we have met, in 1714, doing all the simpler plastering, including panel mouldings and vaulted corridors, at Castle Howard (page 19). But if no leading stuccoist was employed by John Bouchier, he certainly engaged the finest craftsmen in wood that the city of York could provide, and he gave them an ample field and a free hand. Thus, Beningbrough stands out as the Yorkshire house that is pre-eminent both in the quality and quantity of its interior woodwork.



346.—THE SALOON.

It is on the first floor, over dining and east drawing rooms.

It is, however, in some of the lesser rooms, rather than in the hall, that the Yorkshire joiners and carvers wrought their best work, for in the hall the carving that is seen framing the picture over the chimney-piece (Fig. 330), and others like it on the other walls, is not a local product, but the work of Grinling Gibbons himself, transferred there from Holme Lacy, which had been sold by Lord Chesterfield some years before his purchase of Beningbrough. To him and Lady Chesterfield we owe the reversion of the hall to its original appearance, for they removed a hanging gallery or passage-way that had been thrown across the south end of the hall, giving level connection between the east and west first-floor corridors. This may well have been a convenience, but was a sad detriment to the appearance of the hall, breaking the essential lines of its great pilasters and cutting in twain the panels that sit upon the beautifully carved and scrolled keystones that top the doorways and recesses occupying the inter-pilaster spaces. The removal of this intrusive feature not only improves the appearance of the hall, but permits of delightful peeps down (Fig. 331) into it from the end arches of the two corridors. The corridors



348.—THE NORTH DOORWAY OF THE SALOON.



347.—THE WEST DOORWAY OF THE SALOON.



349.—THE SMOKING-ROOM (M ON PLAN).

themselves, with their varied lobbies (Fig. 332), compartments, arches (Fig. 333) and vaultings, create an extremely dramatic impression, and, if not directly designed by Vanbrugh, were, surely, inspired by Castle Howard (Fig. 27). Although not original to the house, the Gibbons carvings are in perfect unison with the spirit of the hall. But the fact that they are recent introductions needs carefully and indestructibly chronicling, or they might prove, in the future, to be very misleading. It might easily be assumed that they were original to Beningbrough, as the presence of such work, introduced during Gibbons' lifetime, would fit in admirably with what we learn of his early

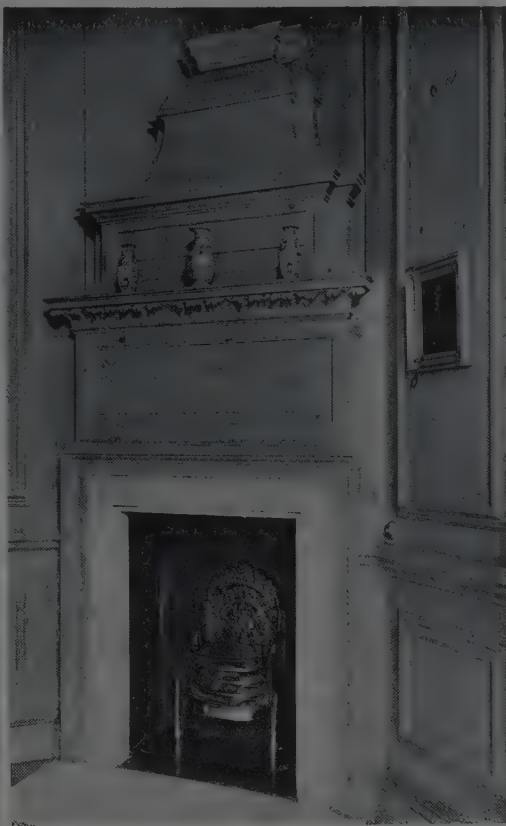
life from two of his contemporaries. In George Vertue's 1721 Note-book is an account of Grinling Gibbons given by Thomas Murray, portrait-painter, a neighbour of Gibbons in Covent Garden, and, like him, buried in its church. From Murray we learn that the famous carver, on coming to England at the age of fifteen, "went into Yorkshire where he was first employed." Only after this did he migrate to Deptford, where Evelyn discovered him in 1671. The correctness of this Yorkshire episode is supported by Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, who, speaking as a Yorkshireman, calls Grinling Gibbons his countryman and tells how, in 1702, and at Leeds, he—Thoresby—being in company with "a parcel of artists," met "Mr Etty the painter with whose father Mr Etty Sen., the architect, the most celebrated Grinlin Gibbons wrought at York, but whether apprenticed with him or not I remember not well" (Diary, Ed. Hunter, page 366). This Yorkshire architect of about 1665 cannot be the same as the Etty whom we have seen working under Vanbrugh at Castle Howard and at Seaton Delaval, and who did not die until 1734. Presumably, Gibbons' master had an architect as well as an artist son, or a single son may have combined architecture with painting. How far, moreover, were these "architects" also concerned in, and adepts at, carving and woodwork? And—although we cannot claim for Beningbrough any original Grinling Gibbons work—can we connect the Etty family with both



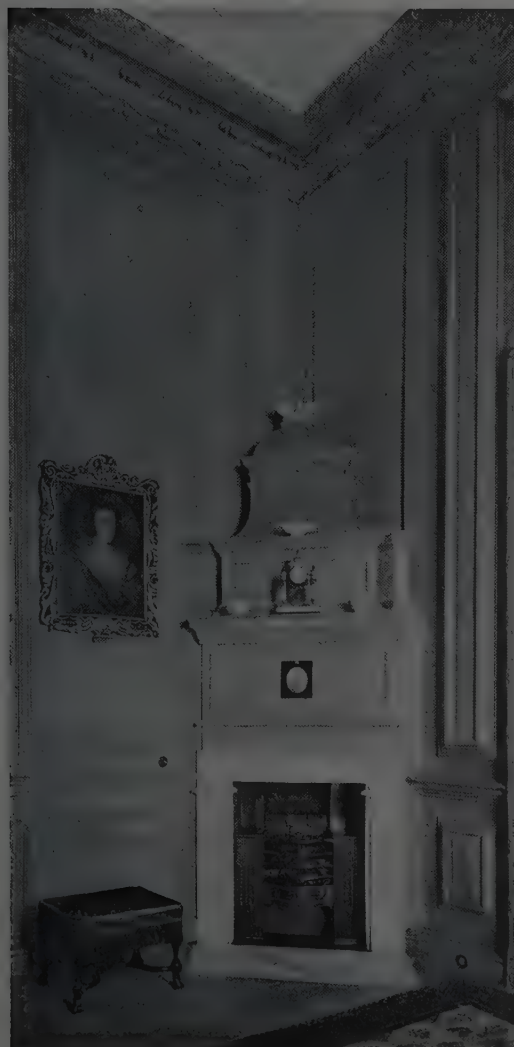
350.—IN THE GREEN SILK DRESSING-ROOM.



351.—IN LADY CHESTERFIELD'S DRESSING-ROOM.



352.—IN THE SMALL ROOM NEXT TO THE BOUDOIR.



353.—IN THE BOUDOIR.



354.—IN THE STATE DRESSING-ROOM.



355.—IN THE STATE BEDROOM (H ON PLAN).

the designing and decorating of that house, thus accounting for some percolation of the Vanbrughian *ichor* into the flesh and bone of a house that, in most respects, leans towards the Wren influence that permeated English country houses during the half century that followed the Fire of London in 1666? That is a not overstrained inference, but it must be confessed that there is no positive evidence of its validity. From Holme Lacy, also, came the pictures that hang in the hall, so that these represent not Bourchiers, but Scudamores, such as the Sir James, the fellow-joustier with Henry, Prince of Wales—elder son of James I—who is depicted clad in the suit of armour made for him by Tofts.

Through the south-west archway of the hall we reach the main staircase (c). We have seen at Castle Howard and at Blenheim that Vanbrugh's favourite plan was to allot for staircases spaces on either side of his hall and as long as

the sides of the hall itself, that is, extending to and lit from the outer wall of the house. That is not quite the case at Beningbrough, for the east stair is a small one with interior walls, admitting of a small parlour (Fig. 349) between it and the outer wall. But the staircase to the west, while fulfilling Vanbrugh's idea as to position, occupies an ampler space than those of Castle Howard and Blenheim, the relative sizes of the houses being taken into consideration. Nor is the stair itself of the materials that he favoured, namely, stone steps and iron balustrades (Fig. 329). Wood, finely wrought, as already stated, is the outstanding material of Beningbrough's interior work, and of that the staircase is wholly constructed. It closely resembles that at Kings Weston (Fig. 200) in that the risers, no longer set in a string in seventeenth-century manner, are contrived as great elaborately moulded blocks lapping over each other and with parquetry upper surfaces, as seen in one of the illustrations (Fig. 335). That, however, does not show the quarter-landing that sheds light upon the date of the house, and which is separately illustrated (Fig. 334). Here we have the Bouchier cross impaling the Bellwood caltraps, while a border running round has the Stafford knot on each side, the initials J.B.M. at the top and the date 1716 at the bottom.

The stair balustrade is very unusual, for, although of wood, it assimilates to iron. The intricately outlined, but slim-shafted, balusters alternate with panels of openwork treated in the semblance of metal and, indeed, closely resembling the wrought-iron panels that form the newels of Tijou's Chatsworth staircase. The balusters are placed in pairs on each step and are accommodated to the rising ramp of the stair in a very unusual manner. Instead of the second



356.—CORNICE OF THE STATE BEDROOM.



357.—OVER-DOOR IN THE STATE BEDROOM.



358.—AN ENRICHED DOOR
ARCHITRAVE IN THE STATE
BEDROOM.

baluster having the normal elongation to reach the handrail, as at Kings Weston, both are of equal length, but are set on plain plinths, the second of which is much higher than the first. We find the same treatment on a stair in a house at Bootham, the street of York city that leads out towards Beningbrough. There the balusters are somewhat more restrained and normal than those at Beningbrough, but they have the same general character, so that both staircases may well be attributed to the same designer or joiner.

The range of south rooms on the ground floor consists of pairs of little rooms or closets (occupying the single-window end sections of that elevation) and of four larger intervening rooms, of which one, because of the number of windows being odd, is longer than the other three. This larger one (D) is the dining-room (Fig. 336), entered from the central south door of the hall and opening into the garden through the south portal, of which the exterior has been described. The room is wainscoted in the manner surviving from Charles II's days, large bolection-moulded panels



359.—LADY CHESTERFIELD'S BEDROOM.

It is over the west drawing-room.

being topped by an entablature enriched in all its parts and with carved modillions to the cornice. The chimneypiece, however, is more in the style of the day when John Bouchier set the date on his staircase. A broken architrave of wood, with egg-and-tongue moulding, frames simple marble slabs, and on it stands a two-storeyed superstructure, the lower part consisting of a richly carved shelf supported by consoles, the upper part being a pedimented picture-frame of admirable design and workmanship (Fig. 337). But the climax of the woodworker's art at Beningbrough is to be found in the most westerly of the four central rooms (Fig. 339), no longer, indeed, forming a room to itself, but, by the removal, at some time, of the party wall, combined with its neighbour with the least possible interference with disposition and decoration of parts and forming a single, long drawing-room (E and F). Each half has elaborate wall linings, but it is the west section that takes premier place owing to its quite astonishing entablature (Fig. 344), which is as unusual in design as it is masterly in execution. The architrave is narrow and simple, having one enriched



360.—CORNICHE OF THE STATE DRESSING-ROOM.



361.—OVER-DOOR IN LADY CHESTERFIELD'S BEDROOM.



362.—CORNICHE IN THE BOUDOIR.

member only. But the frieze is deep and composed of a series of rising plinths supporting projecting portions of the lower or main member of the cornice. Within and between these plinths are spaces fitted with wood carvings worthy of the Gibbons tradition. The upper ones are composed of acanthus scrolls, full of verve and crispness. The lower ones have palm and shell scrolls serving as bases to vases and ciphers, the latter being the same as we found over the front door-case. It is again present in the centre of the overmantel decoration (Fig. 341). That and the over-doors display very finished examples of the woodworker's art. The one over the north door (Fig. 343) has a rising centre culminating in a console, and is not so rich as that over the west door, which is one of a pair very slightly differentiated. In all likelihood, they were opposite to each other in the same room, the one in the abolished partition wall having been moved into a like position in the east half of the room (Fig. 340). Both are composed of a base enriched by birds, wreaths and scrolls, flanking a vase of flowers and supporting a carved picture-frame with fruit and flower scrolls (Fig. 342). In the east half of the room the entablature, although decidedly rich, is simpler and more normal than that in the west half. It is on the same principle as the roof entablature. Projecting portions of the cornice are supported by pairs of carved consoles resting on carved bases, but set along a perfectly plain frieze (Fig. 345). East of the dining-room is the State bedroom (H). Here, above bolection-moulded panels, we find an entablature which, again, has a most remarkable frieze. Its rich acanthus scrollwork curls over and projects in front of the dentils that run along the base of the cornice. In the frieze, also, at certain intervals, we find circles of foliage or drapery framing male or female masks. Of the latter, an example, surrounded by a grape-vine, is over the doorway (Fig. 357), which is itself surmounted by a picture-frame very nearly as rich as those in the drawing-room. Only a little less sumptuous is the treatment of the chimneypiece (Fig. 335), where the bolection-moulded fire-arch—such as we have found Hawksmoor still using at Castle Howard—has a scheme of enriched woodwork reaching up to the ceiling. Everywhere, indeed, in the room the woodcarver has plied his art with equal deftness, as, for example, in the cavetto moulding of the door-frames (Fig. 358), where the leafage swings round upon itself with astonishing verve. In the little pairs of end rooms, both on the ground floor (G, G and J, J) and on the floor above, the fireplaces are set cornerwise, and thus we get a series of chimneypieces with recessed tops accommodating china, such as we know so well in the King's Dressing-room at Hampton Court. But neither at Hampton Court nor at any house of the period do we find them in such number and variety as at Benington. Five of them now illustrated show the resource of the designer. To each pair of rooms was given one type, but with decided variation. Those in the boudoir (G) and adjoining room have the idea of a dome or cupola as a basic conception (Figs. 352 and 353). In the State dressing-room (Fig. 354) we find one with a well carved member to the cornice of the main panel, but with plain stepping above. Its fellow, rather than its twin, is next door. A somewhat different type occurs in Lady Chesterfield's dressing-room (Fig. 351) and in the Green Silk Dressing-room (Fig. 350), the salient feature being the peaking of the most important upper member, giving the impression of a pediment. Lady Chesterfield's dressing-room is at the west end of the house, the adjoining bedroom (Fig. 359) being over the west section of the drawing-room. Here, again, we find the woodcarvers exercising not only their skill, but their invention. Over the door (Fig. 361) is an oval picture-frame set upon a human mask that might almost be a mediæval gargoyle. The carving that stretches out on each side of the oval is so exactly what we expect from Grinling Gibbons that it suggests transference from Holme Lacy. In the Green Silk Bedroom (Fig. 364) the doorway is of even greater richness, the door architrave being very fully carved and the oval picture-frame above has its pedimented structure decorated with female masks, baroque scrolls, flower drops and drapery swags (Fig. 365). Somewhat more reserved but full of quiet dignity is the great first-floor room, the five-window saloon that uses the space above both dining-room and east half of drawing-room (Fig. 346). It has the same scheme of wall lining and modillioned cornice as the dining-room, but with the further enrichment of fluted Corinthian pilasters. Over the doors by the windows (Fig. 347) are carvings with rectangular frames containing pictures by Bogdani, who, in the reign of Queen Anne, painted so many bird pictures for English houses, such as those at Hitchin Priory, which was close to where he lived. The round-headed doorways on the north wall (Fig. 348) have frames adapted to their shape and are filled with landscapes by Van Diest. The furniture includes the fine Holme Lacy

chandeliers, in carved and gilt wood, and gilt chairs and side-tables of early eighteenth-century English type, but two of the tables are, clearly, of French origin. The curtains are of yellow silk and the walls are painted peacock-blue. No doubt, originally they had been white, a colour that prevailed in the house until 1917. Now, various effective colour-schemes have been introduced. The hall has its pilasters marbled and its walls sage-tinted, while the staircase and corridors are olive-coloured. The dining-room is walnut grained, and in the drawing-room the paint has been removed, and the pinewood thus revealed has been reduced to a cool grey tone.

Only in such superficial points as colour-schemes, pictures and furniture does the Beningbrough of to-day differ materially from that of 1716. How long John Bouchier



363.—IN THE STATE BEDROOM.



364.—IN THE GREEN SILK BEDROOM.

and Mary, his wife, lived to enjoy the house which bears their cipher so profusely does not appear, but their son, another John, will certainly have succeeded before his turn to be sheriff came round, which was in the year 1749. When he died, a decade later, his daughter Mildred was his heiress, but for a year only did she enjoy possession. In 1760 she married a neighbour from Bramham—the Honourable Robert Lane—but a few months later she died, and Mrs. Earle succeeded. She was the only child of Sir Barrington's younger son by his second wife, Ralph Bouchier, a London physician. The Earles, again, had a single child, a son, who grew to manhood, but soon after left his parents without heirs of their blood. Mrs. Earle lived until 1827, and at her death the Honourable William Dawnay found himself nominated in her will as her

heir. He had been her son's college chum, and had, no doubt, continued to be the lonely widow's friend. Of his family we are told that a D'Aunay of Normandy "came to England with the Conqueror," but the Tudors had come to the throne ere we hear of Dawnays seated at Cowick in Yorkshire, and Charles II was king when Sir John Dawnay of Cowick was created Viscount Downe in the peerage of Ireland. The inheritor of Beningbrough was a younger son of the fourth viscount and in Holy orders. In 1832 he succeeded as sixth viscount, and fourteen years later Beningbrough passed to his second son, who died in 1891 leaving it to a nephew, the Honourable Lewis Dawnay, who, in 1910, was succeeded by his son, General Guy Dawnay, the vendor to Lord Chesterfield seven years later.



365.—IN THE GREEN SILK BEDROOM.

CHAPTER XV

SHOTOVER PARK, OXFORDSHIRE

THE documentary evidence for ascribing Shotover to Vanbrugh consists in a single sentence. In his letter to Tonson of August 12th, 1725—already quoted in reference to Blenheim (page 98) and to Stowe (page 160)—Sir John tells his correspondent how he set off on an expedition with his wife and also Lord Carlisle and his daughters:

Having leave to form the journey as I wou'd, I carryed them to Oxford, seeing several places by the way, as the Duke of Portland's, Coll. Tyrrols etc, for twas agreed not to Stint them in time, a piece of husbandry that usually spoils all Journeys of Pleasure.

Combined with the internal evidence afforded by the details of the house and outbuildings and by the lay-out, this visit to Shotover leaves little doubt that Vanbrugh materially assisted General Tyrrell in his works here, if he did not wholly direct them. The relation of client and architect would appear to have been analogous to that existing between Sir Edward Southwell and Vanbrugh at Kings Weston. While the house is, in this case, less characteristic, the contemporary lay-out survives, and is an excellent example of what Vanbrugh's landscape gardening may be supposed to have consisted in. Very possibly, as we shall see, Hawksmoor was more closely

associated with the actual house than Vanbrugh himself.

The big ridge that forms the eastern boundary of suburban Oxford—set like a dam to keep fresh the meadows about Wheatley and Thame—this useful ridge is Shotover, and it is still a roughish, wooded tract, rather formidable. But in the middle of this erstwhile royal forest comes the enchanting lay-out of Shotover Park, a prodigious vista of water—formal, rectangular, puffed and padded about with cushions of elm. At one end is a Gothic temple, beneath whose cool shades and melancholy vaults the eighteenth-century soul could refresh itself in "elegant retirement"; at the other, raised on sweeps of lawn, stands the house, further supported upon a rusticated arcade forming a loggia. It is a bluff, honest building of Hedington stone, with well marked cornice and angles, a high parapet and a hipped roof that barely shows above it. Being built on a steep bank, what is the ground floor on the west or entrance front is the



366.—THE OBELISK, AND THE ENTRANCE FRONT OF THE HOUSE BEYOND.

first floor on the east, where it is supported by the aforesaid arcade, and, although the wings are nineteenth-century additions, yet the arcaded basements on which they rest to the east appear as part of the original design (Fig. 375), and seem to have been used as orangeries or loggias. Thus, the house was at first still more block-like than to-day. The wings were most skilfully added in about 1855, and in no way detract from the disarming straightforwardness of the whole design.

Uniformity amid variety was considered, by early eighteenth-century philosophers, to be the essence of beauty. The function of the artist was to stress the order underlying Nature's wildness. In few compositions of the time do we find this principle more thoroughly put into practice and so perfectly preserved as at Shotover. In the lay-out, Nature was called in to provide groves and coppices and shady walks, lakes and lawns, but under strict discipline. The designer controlled her ebullitions so that her underlying order was clearly manifest. The groves were parallel, the coppices of "beautiful" rectangular shapes, the shady walks curved and serpentine only so much as was decent and graceful. The lakes had the limpid and reflecting qualities of all lakes, but there was to be nothing irregular or careless about their shapes. They would be



367.—THE EASTWARD VISTA AND THE GOTHIC TEMPLE, FROM THE HOUSE.

as strictly beautiful as the regularly sloping lawns. In the middle of all, the house itself would set the keynote of absolute regularity by being, as far as possible, a complete unity, a cube. In comparison with it the surroundings thus appeared wildly natural, although kept so ingeniously and strictly within the bounds of decorum. And while, at one end of the lake, the house was everything that was considered proper and uniform, at the other, irregularity and barbarism would be epitomised by the Gothic temple. On the same axis, but down the vista from the other side of the house, the most chastely beautiful form of all art would be seen in the obelisk. The charming engraving illustrated in Fig. 375 shows how the three degrees of beauty were thus ordered in the lay-out. At one end was pure beauty—the obelisk; in the middle, beauty adapted to fitness and use in the shape of a cube-like house; at the other end, wild "Gothick" irregularity in which, however, a certain uniformity was still to be discerned.

These were the ideas underlying the earliest attempts at landscape gardening as initiated by Vanbrugh and developed by Kent. They are lucidly set forth by Frances Hutchison, whose "Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Order" was published while Shotover was being built and its gardens laid out. As an early attempt at compromise between the formality of an architectural garden and the requirements of an eye educated in landscape painting

the Shotover lay-out is singularly apt. Compared even with the lay-out at Eastbury (page 176), executed by Bridgeman under Vanbrugh's guidance, it is remarkably free from knots and parterres. Its lines are spacious, and the wilder part of the grounds, seen beyond the house in Fig. 375, show a precocious ingenuity for adapting planting and paths to the lie of the ground, as we have already seen at Stowe and Claremont. The trees are now thick, now sparse, and the paths frequently "serpentine," in each case in order to afford picturesque peeps. Judged on its own merits, independently of "period," the composition of the walls, trees and buildings before the garden front is admirably broad and satisfactory. Vanbrugh's large personality is unmistakably present here. There was nobody else in England in 1720 who could unite the picturesque and the grand so successfully.

The owners of Shotover at this time were both "Men of Taste," and may be credited with having themselves given the place the impress of their ideas, even if Vanbrugh was called in to carry them out.



368.—THE EAST, OR GARDEN, ELEVATION OF THE HOUSE, FROM HALF WAY DOWN THE VISTA.

These amateurs of the arts were General James Tyrrell and his father. They belonged to a family which had lived principally at Oakley in Buckinghamshire, and in the church there a series of monuments sums up their characters with a singular absence of irrelevant compliment and a no less unusual number of useful facts. The general's monument informs us that he first saw service in Flanders—

Sub Imperio Potentissimo Regis
Gulielmi ejus Nominis Tertij,

and continued "under the serene auspices of Anne." Then—

Ne autem post dura Belli interiret Otium
Ædes Shotoveranus Hortosque suum
Exigenda curavit
Elegantiarum præcipuus
Ille Amator et Cultor.

"A remarkable lover and cultivator of the elegances, and to keep himself busy and interested after the hardships of war, he pressed on the completion of the Shotoverian house and gardens."

This makes it likely that the whole scheme had been begun by the father, who died in 1718, when the general was forty-four. James Tyrrell senior was a singular character, and it is the impression of his tastes that Shotover bears. Here, again, his epitaph is a valuable biography, perhaps because it was set up twenty-seven years after his death :

He was a man of rare integrity, gravity and wisdom, had never polished himself out of his sincerity, nor refined his behaviour to the prejudice of his virtue. . . . The only public service he ever engaged in (tho' admirably fitted for such service) was about the time of the peace of Reswick when upon the application of his singular good friend the



369.—THE ARCADED LOGGIA THAT CARRIES THE GARDEN FRONT OF THE HOUSE.

Lord Pembroke, he was persuaded to be made one of the Commissioners for executing the Privy Seal. . . . No man was ever more happy in all his domestic affairs, or deserved it better.

From other sources we find that he was something of a scholar and recluse, author of "A General History of England," and a member of Queen's College. Now, living near Oxford and engaged upon historical work, he can hardly have failed to keep up his connection with his college, which, between 1693 and 1720, was being entirely re-built by Nicolas Hawksmoor. The same architect was also building the "Gothic" quadrangle at All Souls. . . . Hawksmoor too, had a close connection with Vanbrugh, and both were constantly in the neighbourhood supervising

the works and disputes of General Tyrrell's neighbour and Commander-in-Chief at Blenheim. After the Hanoverian succession, moreover, the general, who was in the Whig interest, collected several "places," such as Groom of the Bed Chamber to the Prince of Wales, not to mention the governorship of Gravesend and Tilbury forts, that entitles us to suppose him to have been received in the fashionable circle in which Vanbrugh also moved. On top of this, some details of the house, the presence here of a Gothic temple of very early "revivalist" form, and the quality of the lay-out of the grounds and of the obelisk and temple that beautified them speak loudly of a connection with either Vanbrugh or Hawksmoor or both. It is less obvious that either architect had much to do with the designing of the house itself. It is of the common early eighteenth-century form usually found on the edges of country towns, though the use of plain rustication in the quoins and basement is highly reminiscent of Vanbrugh. The arcade in the east basement, too, reminds one of the arcades at Queen's College, below the Library and either side of the first quadrangle, for which Hawksmoor was mainly responsible, while the octagonal temple (Fig. 372) recalls Vanbrugh's work at Stowe. Turning to the lay-out as shown by the engraving, we have seen how Vanbrugh's reputation rested not only on the drama and architecture, but on his landscape gardening, as exemplified at Castle Howard, Eastbury, Stowe, Claremont and Blenheim—though in the three last cases little of it survived the subsequent operations of Kent and "Capability" Brown. The quality of the temple and of the magnificent obelisk is so essentially Vanbrughian, however, that it appears extremely probable, other circumstances considered,



370.—ONE OF THE EARLIEST BUILDINGS OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL.



371.—THE INTERIOR OF THE GOTHIC TEMPLE. *Circa 1720.*



372.—THE OCTAGONAL DOMED TEMPLE.
It has many points in common with the Boycott Pavilion at Stowe (Fig. 233).

that General Tyrrell at least consulted him. And then the Gothic temple: there can be no doubt that it is contemporary with the house—that is, *circa* 1720—and the immediate parallel is with All Souls. One detail in particular, the finial crockets of the tracery arches of the turrets, is formed of acanthus scrolls of the kind habitually used by Hawksmoor at All Souls and in the west towers of Westminster Abbey, as Wren had used them on Tom Tower, Christ Church. This unusually early addiction to “Gothick” on the part of the general or his father, the historian, may well have been formed by the latter’s romantic and historical interest in the past, and the design for this temple have been inspired, if not actually made out, by the architect who was re-building his college. Vanbrugh, whose own fondness for Gothic and romantic scenery to some extent set the fashion, would have strongly supported the idea.

The position, then, seems to be like this: James Tyrrell senior, whose wife was an heiress, though long since dead, about 1715—that is, as soon as his son came back safe from the wars, a general and in the best society—set about re-building the house for him, possibly employing Hawksmoor, whom he encountered at Queen’s and All Souls Colleges. On his death, in 1718, the house was fairly complete, the rain-water heads bearing that date. His son, the general, pushed on the decoration of the interior and the lay-out of the grounds, probably in consultation with Vanbrugh. Beyond this, however, we cannot go.

The only consecutive history of Shotover—a manuscript account by the late Rev. Edmund Greaves, in the possession of General Miller—is not very good in its later stages. On all the earlier history, however, which is very obscure, it sheds considerable light, Mr. Greaves having taken great trouble in consulting original documents. Throughout the Middle Ages the hill was Royal forest, periodically hunted by kings from their lodge in Hedington. The forester, or bailiff, also had a lodge in the forest, of which the present house seems to some extent a successor. The descent of the place to the Tyrrells is direct, through a series of marriages, from Sir John de Handlo of Boarstall, who procured the bailiwick in 1309, having four years previously obtained by marriage Oakley in Buckinghamshire, subsequently the home of the Tyrrells. In 1519 his descendant, Jane Ingleton, heiress of these two estates, married Walter Tyrrell, said to be of Saffron Walden, and sixteenth in descent from that Walter Tyrrell who slew William Rufus.

Two Tyrrells followed one another, the first, Sir George, being recorded to have much “impaired the family estate.” His grandson was Timothy Tyrrell, Master of the Buckhounds to Prince Henry, the son of James I. He is said to have obtained the rangership of Shotover Forest in a rather singular fashion. The Prince was hunting the forest, and Tyrrell held the head of a buck that had been run down, for the Prince to cut off its head. In doing this, however, he so cut Tyrrell’s hand as to permanently deprive him of the use of it. In reparation Tyrrell received by Letters Patent, dated 1613, the rangership in addition to the hereditary bailiwick of the forest. He was knighted in 1624, and died 1632. His son, also Sir Timothy, was a Privy Councillor, a colonel and a general of ordnance in the Royal army. Shotover played a considerable part in the operations revolving round the siege of Oxford, since the heights were of utmost importance to both sides, and extensive earthworks remain—the position of which is indicated in the engraving (Fig. 375)—immediately above the stable buildings to the left of the house. A habitation of some kind seems to have stood here in the Master of the Buckhound’s day (*circa* 1615), and the existing stables, the same as shown in the engraving, are said to be part of the earlier buildings. They are so covered with ivy, however, that no definite opinion can be given other than that they may date from the time of the Restoration. In 1666 Shotover was disforested, and the Tyrrells obtained possession of a large part of it. The cavalier colonel, who at another period became Governor of Cardiff, survived to a great age, dying in 1701, aged eighty-two. Thus, his son, whose retiring disposition has already been alluded to, was fifty-eight years of age before he succeeded. Having married an heiress, the daughter of Sir M. Hutchinson of Fladbury, Worcester, he may have intended to re-build as soon as he succeeded; but the war of the Spanish Succession breaking out almost immediately, and his son being a keen and capable soldier, he seems to have delayed the project until he was quite sure that son would come back alive from Flanders. Thus, he could not carry the plans into practice till he was already an ageing man, with only three years of life left to him.

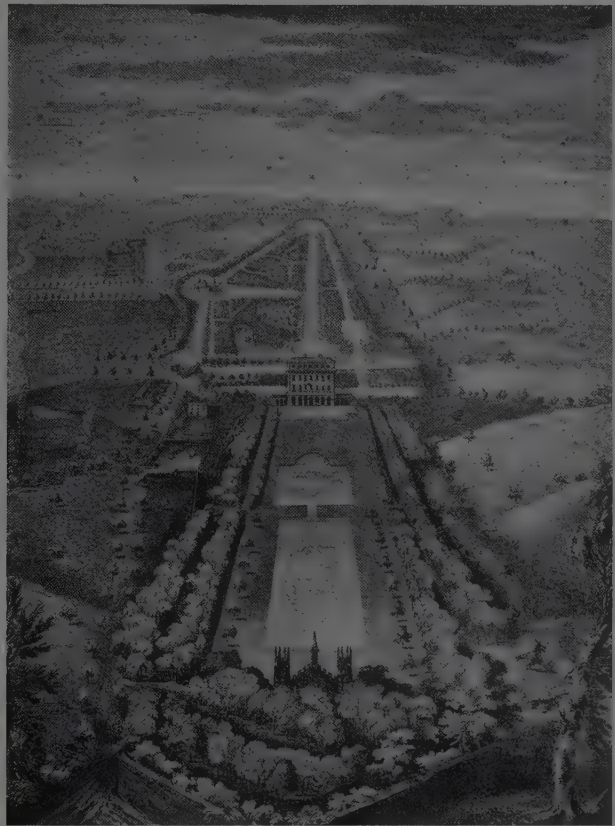


373.—FROM THE GOTHIC TEMPLE.



374.—FROM THE LOGGIA.

In his son all the family characteristics appeared at their best; he had his father's taste and his grandfather's military abilities, and, like many soldiers of our own day, and like Sir Richard Temple at Stowe (page 157), having been "demobilised," he cast about for some antidote to "post-war weariness," finding it in the supervision of the works at the new house and grounds. But he failed to marry, and on his death in 1742 Shotover was left to the son of his ward, Penelope Madan, who had married Baron Augustus Schutz. Sir Timothy Tyrrell, the cavalier, who died in 1701, had had a daughter Penelope, who married, in 1676, Sir James Russell,



375.—THE LAY-OUT.
From an engraving of circa 1750.

Governor of the Island of Nevis. They had an only daughter, also Penelope, who married Martin Madan of Nevis. Penelope Madan, the youngest child and only daughter of this union, was adopted as ward by General Tyrrell, her first cousin once removed. He found for her a most eligible husband in the well connected, if elderly, baron. He was the son of the Hanoverian ambassador to William III, and of Anne, daughter of Armand, Marquis d'Olbreuse. The latter's sister was the wife of George Duke of Zelle, and mother of the unfortunate Queen Sophia Dorothea. Augustus Schutz was thus second cousin to George II, who always acknowledged the relationship. Brought up in England, he returned as a

youth to Hanover and became a young man about the Hanoverian Court. In 1714 he received sundry appointments, culminating in 1727 with the keepership of the Privy Purse, at about which date he will have married Penelope Madan and have been named heir-at-law to Shotover. This event particularly irritated Horace Walpole, who hated the Hanoverians. Writing to Fortescue in 1737, he congratulated him "and all other heirs of property: Old Schutz is dead and can wriggle himself into no more Wills." The baron himself did not look on his fortune in the same light, complaining bitterly that he had to obtain a Private Act of Parliament to enable him to take Shotover, which cost him £8,000. From 1727 he seems to have leased Shotover, and on his death in 1737 he was buried among the Tyrrells at Oakley. I am indebted for this interesting genealogy to Mr. and Mrs. T. Harding Newman, descendants, respectively, of Baron Augustus's brother and of Martin Madan of Nevis. Shotover remained in the possession of the Schutz family till 1839, when, on the death of Thomas James Schutz, the place was left to his cousin, George Vandeput Drury. He died in 1850, and it was sold to George Gammie Maitland, an Australian, in whose possession it remained till 1870, when the property was bought by Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller, father of the present possessor.

The loggia, or arcade, looking down the lay-out (Fig. 369) is the most attractive feature of the building. The central portion is higher than the ends, and is recessed into the house. The treatment of this arrangement is most original and pleasing, particularly the rustication of the great segmental arch of the recess. The plasterwork is extremely rich and vigorous and the mouldings bold. It will be seen that they have a strong affinity with those in the Gothic temple (Fig. 371). The loggia is often used in summer as an outdoor dining-room, for which it is admirably adapted. So far as is known, the garden seats and chairs have always been here, and, although re-painted, would appear to be contemporary with the building. If so, they are as uncommon as satisfying, both in design and construction. From the loggia the formal foreground laid out by Colonel Miller on his purchase of the place is not visible, but, from the floor above, it is seen (Fig. 367) to fit in admirably with the rest of the scheme. One knows of few more enchanting "vistas" than this, nor one that gives better the spirit of the earlier eighteenth century.

The Gothic temple is quite exceptional. Its relation to such serious buildings as All Souls (Fig. xli) and the west towers of Westminster has already been indicated. Gothic was never wholly abandoned as a style. You get the ascent to the hall at Christ Church of 1640, and St. Mary's, Warwick, with the Gothic nave of Charles II's time—both genuinely dynamic and Gothic. Then Wren used a style, as in Tom Tower, which has still something traditional and instinctive about it. But round about 1700 the "Survival" of Gothic did, at length, come to an end. After that date it appears solely as "Revival." The difference, as implied above, is that even at the end of the seventeenth century there is some sort of life in the old forms re-used; and the dynamic principle of Gothic, as contrasted with the static quality of classic construction, is still sub-consciously remembered and faintly expressed. But in the towers of Westminster you get a clear sign that that tradition has died absolutely, and the first groping to recover the effects of that tradition by bizarre arrangements of classic and of poorly observed mediæval forms. At All Souls, Hawksmoor, though full of contempt, as he himself phrased it, for the "new, fantastical, perishable trash" (page xlvi) which he had designed according to instructions and was then called upon to put into execution, struck the note that distinguishes still further the revived from the survived Gothic. It is light, airy—but wholly static. The lightness is "fantastical," not constructional. But the Gothic revival did not gather impetus until its "fantastical" possibilities in connection with decorative, trivial purposes were grasped. Early in the century faint sighs were first heard for the remote, the awe-inspiring and the wild. Travellers over the Alps fearfully cast their eyes about them and felt a kind of awful horror which yet was not unpleasant. In the works of Claude and Salvator such persons could see the gigantic wildness of nature arranged and balanced so as not to offend or fatally frighten a reasonable, orderly eye. And, although "Gothick" was still used as a term of disgust, a few revolutionaries, such as Hutchison, went so far as to maintain that, although "a Goth is mistaken when from Education he imagines the Architecture of his Country to be the most perfect, . . . yet it is still *real Beauty* that pleases the Goth, founded upon Uniformity amidst Variety." For the Gothic Pillars are uniform to each other, and their Arches, though not of one uniform Curve,

yet are Segments of similar Curves." The Moderns," as ever, were finding beauty in ugliness. And "Gothick" certainly was "horrid," recalling precipices, cataracts, *banditti* and gloom. Thus a carefully refined and emasculated Goth was permitted to inhabit a Georgian grove here and there, this example at Shotover being quite the earliest "hermitage" one can point to. Compared with the more fantastic vagaries of Sanderson Miller, Walpole, Bentley and the later men, this Gothic is distinguished by the excellence of its forms. Although only a façade (the back is a blank brick box concealed by a plantation), there is a feeling of solidity and strength—symptoms of contemporary classic design—which had not yet been sacrificed to "aëri-ness."

The interior of the house presents an entrance hall (Fig. 376) that is full of "influences." The chimneypiece calls to mind those at Britwell (Fig. lix) and at Kimbolton (Fig. 153). Vanbrugh seems to meet Kent. The frieze, columns, arches and chimneypiece have the Vanbrugh touch—but the swags of oak leaves above the latter, the helmet and the bold egg-and-tongue moulding speak of Kent. Corresponding to the hall is the saloon (Fig. 377). The oak wainscoting and carved and gilt cornice are not unusual, but the



376.—THE ENTRANCE HALL.



377.—IN THE SALOON.

fireplace treatment is as bold as in the hall. One of the Gibbons school in Oxford who had worked in Queen's Library probably carved the overmantel swags, which are unusual as being of oak, though most of the Queen's Library carving is also in that material. "And there is a beautiful and unusual guilloche moulding in the cavetto of the mantelshelf. But these are details. The room at present is a charming apartment, with its tapestries and fine parquet floor. The tapestries are said to have decorated the bedroom occupied by George II on a visit paid by him to Shotover. And from the windows you command a magnificent prospect of the "vistoe," with its splendid oaks, elms and Spanish chestnuts, some of them, perhaps, survivors of the forest, and of that fascinating Gothic hermitage.

A pyramidal lock-up at Wheatley, on the road just outside Shotover, is illustrated on page lix. Its design strongly suggests that Vanbrugh gave a sketch for it on the occasion of one of his visits to this house, while the monuments at Britwell Park (Figs. lv and lvi), together with the chimneypiece already noticed, give support to the surmise that Vanbrugh was also concerned with that seat, which is only a dozen miles away as the crow flies.

CHAPTER XVI

FRAMPTON COURT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

FRAMPTON-ON-SEVERN is tucked away in a cul-de-sac. The lane joining it to the Bristol-Gloucester road that runs northwards between the estuary and the west escarpment of the Cotswolds spreads out on to Rosamond's Green, threads the sleepy village and comes to an end at the church. Overlooking the green is the boundary wall of the Court. The green takes its name from Fair Rosamond Clifford, whom one of several traditions asserts to have been born in the stone and timber framed building known as the Manor Farm that faces the Court across the green. Fair Rosamond's collateral descendants still live at the Court. The latter, besides its retired situation and the long tale of its ownership, is interesting as belonging to the group of buildings round Bristol associated with Vanbrugh, the most important of which is Kings Weston (page 141).

Richard Clutterbuck, the builder, came of an old-established Gloucestershire family that had made its name in the wool trade. In the seventeenth century a material was woven called "Clutterbucks." Frampton, at that period, was a weaving village of some importance. The Clutterbucks became possessed of Frampton by marriage with the descendant of the original Clifford owner. William the Conqueror gave the manor to Drogo FitzPonce, who was succeeded by his brother Richard. The latter's son, Walter, to whom Frampton passed, was a baron of the Welsh Marches, lord of Clifford Castle on the Wye, and father of Fair Rosamond. On Walter Clifford's death the small Frampton manor went to a younger son, Sir Hugh, from whom descended the titular lords of the manor. Another son, Henry, founded the line which, with three descents through heiresses, is represented by the present owners. Henry Clifford is recorded, in 1284, to have bought lands of considerable value from his brother, chief among which was the site of the present Court. There will have been a residence of some worth here, but it was demolished in 1730. The last male Clifford of this line died in 1684. His daughter Mary had, in 1659, married Nathaniel Clutterbuck of Eastington, both of whom died in 1680. It was their son, William Clutterbuck, who succeeded to Frampton on John Clifford's death. William Clutterbuck died in 1727, and was succeeded by his son Richard, aged twenty-four. It is he who will have been the builder of the present house and the bearer of the coat of arms set up in the pediment where Clutterbuck quarters Clifford.

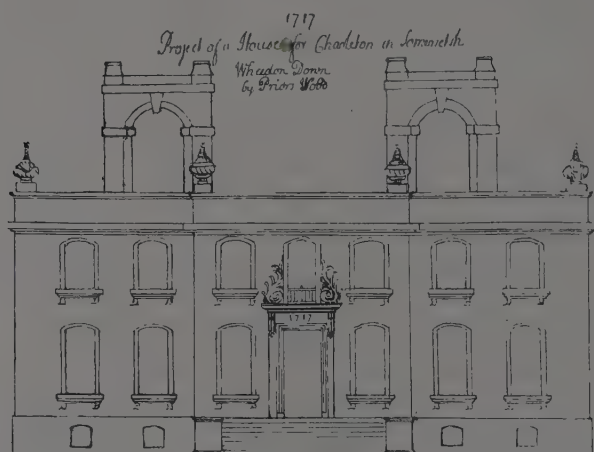


378.—THE ENTRANCE FRONT AND THE COLOSSALLY CHIMNEYED WINGS.

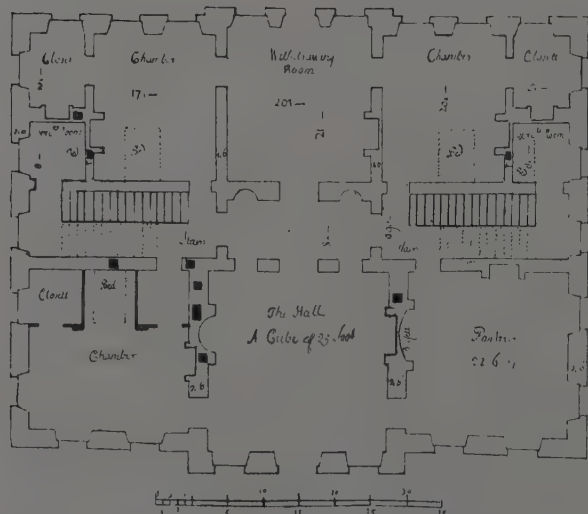


379.—A BLUFF, YET WELL BRED, FACE—THE GARDEN FRONT.

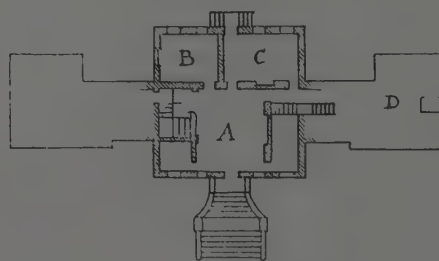
The date 1733 occurs on a rain-water head on the building, and from other sources we learn that the house was built by Richard Clutterbuck in 1731. These dates will, probably, represent the beginning and virtual completion of the work. Thus, at the outset, we are faced with the impossibility of Vanbrugh's having in any way supervised the building, since he had died in 1726. On the other hand, there is much that strongly recalls his characteristics as exhibited in his later and smaller works. We may, in fact, regard Frampton as an example of Vanbrugh's "school," of which Hawksmoor and Wakefield were the outstanding figures, while the designer of this house was one of the lesser luminaries.



Extend. 80 Feet

380.—DESIGN FOR A HOUSE AT CHARLTON.
By Sir Edward Southwell (?). From the Kings Weston book.

Among the Vanbrughian characteristics is a certain affinity of the elevation (Fig. 382) to that of Kings Weston, which Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Southwell were building from about 1710 onwards till the former's death. There is a similar boldness and cleanness about both buildings. The engaged porticoes—Corinthian at Kings Weston, Ionic here—are, to some extent, allied, and the proportions, as a whole, are similar. These similarities are not, however, typically Vanbrughian. Rather, they

381.—SKETCH PLAN OF FRAMPTON COURT.
A, hall; B, drawing-room; C, dining-room; D, kitchen offices.



382.—THE GRAND ASCENT FROM THE WEST.

derive from a common respect for Palladio. The designer of Frampton, whoever he was, was obviously as familiar with Palladian architecture as he was with Vanbrugh's. Though it cannot be argued, on the strength of the garden front design at Grimsthorpe (Fig. 450), that Vanbrugh himself, towards the end of his life, was tending towards the academic style favoured by Lord Burlington and Colin Campbell, and adopted by their group, of which Gibbs and Kent were the foremost, yet Kings Weston itself owes something to Palladio. Vanbrugh's progress was from the baroque of Castle Howard to the picturesque magnificence of Seaton Delaval. But his influence is traceable in Kent's monumentally simple design for Holkham.

If the design of the central block of Frampton is thus of negative value as evidence of Vanbrugh's influence, there are other features that derive directly from him. The huge arched chimneys on the wings reproduce an effect of which he was particularly fond, and of which no other architect made use. Palladio habitually ignored chimneys, and his English disciples were never very successful in adding these features, necessitated in English architecture, to their Italian façades. At Kings Weston it will be remembered with what effect Vanbrugh crowned the elevations with a row of arched chimneys.

Turning to the gardens, that stretch out to one side of the house, we come upon a long, rectangular canal (Fig. 383), at the end of which is a garden house of the Early Gothic revival (Fig. 384). The conception of both is nearly allied to that of the grounds at Shotover, with which we have seen (page 247) Vanbrugh was closely associated. Both represent an early move in the direction of landscape and romance. But while the Gothic temple at Shotover seems to have emanated from All Souls College, Oxford, which Vanbrugh's associate Hawksmoor was re-building at that time, the Frampton design is altogether more advanced and later. Its closest parallels are the designs published by Batty Langley in his "*Gothic Architecture Restored and Improved*," 1742. In fact, this building bears an identical relation to Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor's initiation of the Gothic revival as the house itself bears to Kings Weston. Both are slightly elaborated and conventionalised derivations.

Though Vanbrugh were not the designer, but only the inspirer, of the house and lay-out, we can make a fair guess at the origin of his influence in this remote corner of England. Sir Edward Southwell of Kings Weston was one of the most enthusiastic amateur architects of the time and one of the most important people in the county. His numerous architectural projects are preserved in the book entitled "*Designs by Sir John Vanbrugh for Kings Weston*," which has already been discussed in the chapter on that house. We found that Southwell took Vanbrugh as his model, though he was not averse from getting a design from Campbell on occasion, and that he was a student of Gothic in its possible applications to classic domestic architecture. Moreover, the book contains several plans and elevations for the houses of friends and relations in Gloucestershire and Somerset. One of these (Fig. 380), entitled "*Project of a House for Charleton in Somersetsh.*," is reproduced here. It will be noticed at once how Southwell made use of the arched chimneystacks, making of them dominating, but inadequately related, features of his design, just as they have been used on the wings at Frampton and had been projected in the first design for Eastbury (Fig. 258). Though there are two more bays on the Charleton façade than at Frampton, and the former lacks a portico, the plan and the height of the rooms are similar in each case. The arrangement of the rooms, both vertically and horizontally, is a fairly common one, but it is also one of which Southwell made use on other occasions. Added to his affinities to Vanbrugh and their echoing at Frampton, we have other reasons for suspecting that he had a hand in the design.

It may be urged that Richard Clutterbuck would have been more likely to engage a regular architect than to apply to an amateur. Not only was amateurism the rule rather than the exception during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century, but, excellent as is the design of Frampton, there are deficiencies which suggest an amateur as their author, and which a regular architect would have avoided. The wings, while amusing in their box-like robustness, are wholly unrelated to the main block, while their chimneys are unrelated to the wings. In the main block admirable rustication has been given to the windows, but those between the pilasters of the portico are unduly cramped as a result. The front doorway is a delightful, but not quite professional, bit of design. The oval recessing of the lintel has no warrant in accepted practice

(and the architects of that age were nothing if not academic). While the carrying of the rustication round the arch is not entirely happy, the arch mouldings themselves give the effect of being too slight in proportion to the heavy rustication blocks. To fill up the lunette, which Vanbrugh would have left blank, Southwell (if it was he) adapted the cockleshell *motif* from earlier Renaissance practice. In spite of the grand sweep of the steps, the treatment of this part of the façade is a little weak. All the main floor apertures look squeezed in, while those on the floor above look wider, though, actually, they are the same width.

These are minor defects in an exceedingly pleasant design. For the execution of it there can be nothing but praise. If the architect was an amateur, the mason was a master of his craft. The county was rich at that time in capable masons, whether from the Cotswold towns or from Bristol or Bath. Vanbrugh had imported Townsend from Oxford to Kings Weston as master mason. Frampton, one is inclined to suspect, was rather the work of a Bristol mason. Bristol was almost certainly the provenance of much of the applied craftsmanship about the house, such



383.—LOOKING DOWN THE FORMAL CANAL TO THE GOTHIC GARDEN HOUSE.

as the urns on the parapet, which differ only slightly from those supplied to Kings Weston. All the carved work about the façade is splendidly done.

The house, when seen from the back (Fig. 379), appears still more clearly the work of a clever amateur assisted by an able master mason. While the entrance front might conceivably have been elaborated from a rough sketch by Vanbrugh, the back presents no qualities that support such an attribution, or that an admirer of Vanbrugh and Colin Campbell, such as Sir Edward Southwell, could not have conceived unassisted. Here there is no portico to mask the indecisiveness of the design. Its real weakness is the uncertain proportion of voids to solids. The width of the windows is nearly, but not quite, equal to that of the spaces between them. In a good design either voids or solids must clearly predominate; there should be no troublesome doubt. At Coleshill, for instance, a façade of approximately the same proportionate dimensions is entirely satisfying with a proportion of one void to two solids. Vanbrugh, even if he kept it as simple, would not have tolerated such an inactive façade. There would have been some

break, however slight, defining the centre of the sky-line. The amateur designer, on the other hand, under the necessity for economising at the back, shows himself to have lacked the rhythm that a real artist cannot but give to his simplest creations. None the less, the back of Frampton has an honest charm that redeems it from insipidity, while the great chimneys of the wings come as an echo of Vanbrugh's picturesque violence.

The Gothic garden house at the end of the canal consists of two octagons between which is a passage hall conducting to a staircase that is contained in the octagonal tower at the back. It is strongly built of stone, and contains internal features of considerable elaboration, such as the fireplace seen in Fig. 387, backed with contemporary Bristol tiles. No effort whatever was made by the designer of the garden house to incorporate Gothic principles, as distinct from features. The result is a delightful pastiche and a satisfying, if fatuous, design. How charming is the little cupola, with its Gothic trimmings, perched like a cap on the top of the tower! The ogee line that captivated designers in the 'forties and 'fifties, as approximating to the waving "line of beauty" defined by Hogarth, here is given full scope. And a pretty rhythm it sets up. "Gothistic" design, as distinct from the unimaginative copying of old forms, known as the Gothic revival, that was prevalent during last century, should be considered as a genuine and original style, as distinct from real Gothic as from classic. Was any style better suited to produce amusing garden architecture, which it is impossible to take seriously, though it alludes whimsically to knights and chivalry and fayre ladies? Alas, we know too much about real Gothic to be able to design as flagrantly, and fragrantly, as Batty Langley, or whoever waxed romantic in the conception of this ingenious toy.

A stone-paved hall occupies the centre of the main floor of the house (Fig. 390), and facing the front door is the door to the dining-room, which takes up three of the five bays of the opposite front. The other two are occupied by the drawing-room. A small room lies either side of the hall looking towards the front, and to the left rises the main staircase beneath a wide segmental arch. To the right of the hall is the back staircase. Allowing for certain adjustments, and a greater importance given to the main stairs, the plan is practically the same as that designed by Southwell for Charleton. A decidedly Vanbrughian character attaches to the hall, not only in the form of the stair-arch, but in the bold Doric frieze and cornice. This, together with the rest of the woodwork, is executed in deal, originally painted, but now bare. The staircase and its wainscoting are of oak. The moulding and lines of the stair-arch (Fig. 388) are admirable, though the "keystone" moulding in the crown is a trifle clumsy.

The staircase itself is a magnificent piece of carpentry, in the same class as those at Kings Weston and Beningbrough. Indeed, it is the craftsmanship of the interior that is Frampton's claim to fame. In this respect in particular it is allied to Beningbrough, also an example of the Vanbrugh school. In neither house can Vanbrugh be proved to have been concerned, but in both his style is traceable, and in both the level of wood-craftsmanship is exceptionally high. In both, moreover, there is little doubt that the woodworkers were provincial. Taken in conjunction with scarcely less outstanding work in Vanbrugh's recognised buildings, the Frampton and Beningbrough decoration bears striking evidence to the sympathy existing between Vanbrugh, and even his style, with the masons and joiners of his time. In all branches of craft—in iron, stone and wood—design and execution were at their height during Vanbrugh's architectural career. His own style, however individual, was sufficiently English to harmonise with the traditional products of the craftsmen, and, consequently, he was able to give them a fairly free hand in the houses he was superintending. Similarly, his style was English enough to be practised well by the craftsmen when working on their own. This is a primary distinction between the Wren-Vanbrugh group of architects and the Palladian school that succeeded it. The latter had, for many years, to provide drawings for all details that it was wished to have in unity with the architecture, or else the fittings were procured from a London factory where Palladian patterns were being executed wholesale. In either case the individuality of the craftsman, cultivated by Wren and Vanbrugh, was suppressed under Kent and Gibbs.

In this staircase, the end of each step is richly moulded and supported by a carved console. Each of these consoles is carved with exceptional elaboration, and differs from the rest. In some, miniature *putti* emerge from a scroll, upside down. Each step supports three spirally fluted and moulded balusters, and the risers are inlaid with a banding of holly. The undersides



384.—THE GARDEN HOUSE.



385.—AN OCTAGONAL DOVECOT.



386.—THE STAIRCASE IN THE TOWER OF
THE GARDEN HOUSE.



387.—A FIRST-FLOOR INTERIOR IN THE GARDEN
HOUSE.



388.—THE STAIRCASE ARCH.



389.—SHOWING DETAILS OF THE BALUSTERS AND CONSOLE BRACKETS.

of the steps are shaped to the section given by the console brackets. At the bottom of the stairs a dog-gate of trellis is contrived to fold back into the dado-wainscot (Fig. 391), its recess being ornamented with an arch of marquetry reminiscent of several marquetry panels worked into the passage decoration at Beningbrough. The quarter-landings have a parquet pattern, consisting of a Maltese cross, similar to that executed at Kings Weston, a design for which is dated 1719.

The two best rooms in the house are the dining-room (Fig. 396), that occupies the three south bays of the east front, and the drawing-room (Fig. 397), the remaining two. Both these rooms are as exquisite examples of the use of woodwork in decoration as can be found anywhere. Perfect balance is given to each wall and to the space as a whole, in the dining-room, by the door-cases in the angles and the central fireplace feature. Except in the latter, where the carving is of the simplest, "pure line alone provides the decorative scheme: line firmly declared by well cut and adjusted mouldings: for example, the two doorways seen in Fig. 393. Undistracted by any mats or pictures or objects, the eye is free to contemplate in them the fact and conception "Door." They express them as completely, and yet as economically, as any door-maker ever contrived to do. One gives into the hall, the other into a cupboard for wine glasses,



390.—THE FRONT HALL.



391 and 392.—THE DOG-GATE AT THE FOOT OF THE STAIRCASE, CLOSED AND OPEN.
When open, a panel of marquetry is revealed in the recess.



393.—DOORWAYS IN THE DINING-ROOM.



394.—DOORWAY AND WINDOW IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

some noble examples of which are marshalled on its shelves (Fig. 402). We may trace a close family resemblance between the arch and the cockleshell in the lunette and those over the outside of the front door. Similar keystones are used in each arch, and the shell *motif* is also repeated.

The drawing-room (Fig. 397) is square and slightly more richly wainscoted. The cornice, plain in the dining-room, here has an egg-and-tongue member; while, in the fireplace feature (Fig. 399), the joiner let himself go, yet



395.—DETAIL OF DOORWAY WOODWORK IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

not unduly. The dark grey marble surround, of a pattern frequently used by Vanbrugh, is surmounted by an exceedingly rich overmantel in which *motifs*, often used by William Kent, are supplemented in the flanking scrolls by a baroque vitality that derives from Daniel Marot and Grinling Gibbons. In the centre, the seaport scene has exactly the architectonic qualities desirable in such a setting.

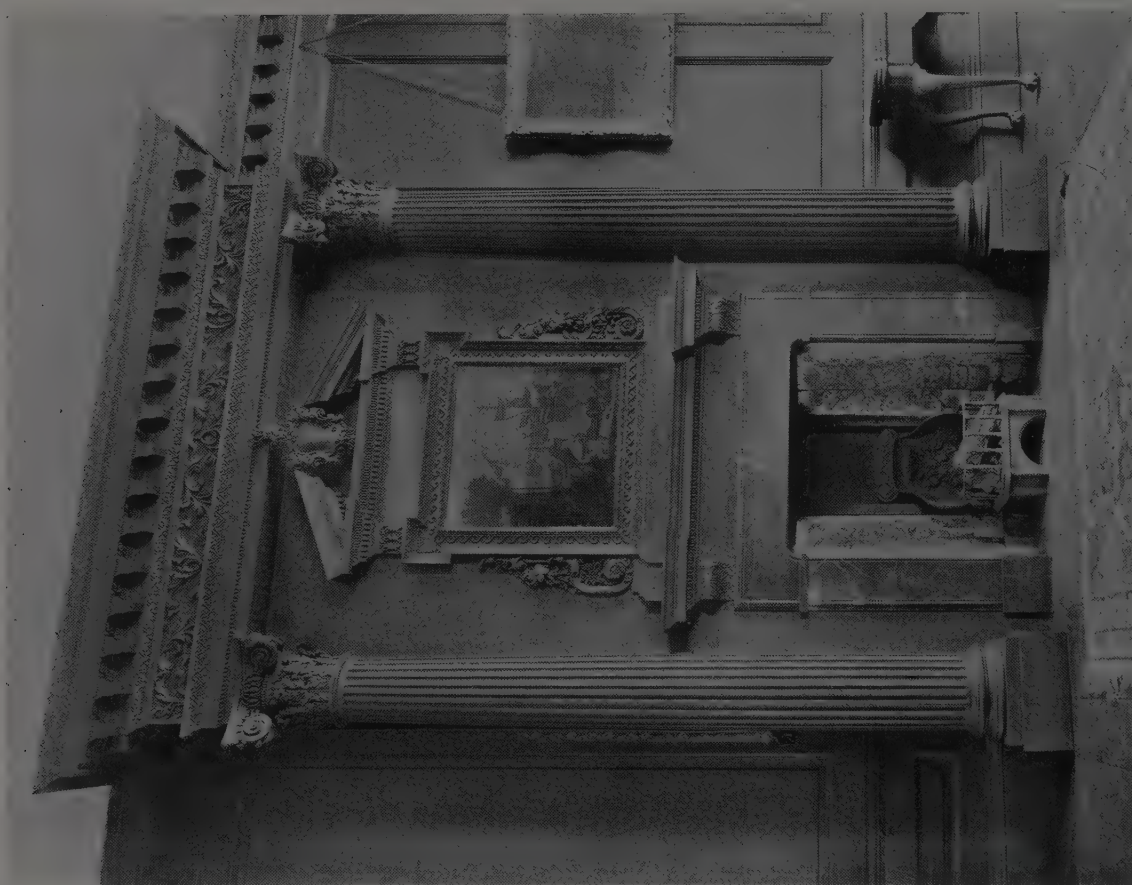
No less admirable is the workmanship and feeling in the pillars and architrave that define the composition.



396.—THE DINING-ROOM.



397.—THE DRAWING-ROOM.



398, 399 and 400.—THE DRAWING-ROOM CHIMNEYPIECE, AND CONTEMPORARY FIREPLACE PANELS OF BRISTOL TILES.

The carver took full advantage of the opportunities that the composite order presented in the capitals. The detail of the frieze and of the cornice round the whole room is crisply and vigorously carved, while the soffit of the architrave is marquetryed with a key pattern. The chief member of the frieze shows foliation merging into rococo scrollwork. The more we contemplate this beautiful joinery the more admirable it is seen to be: we notice with what care the wood for the plane surfaces has been chosen for its figure. It is almost invisible where it would have confused the lines of the architecture, but behind the pediment and in the large panels it is prominent.

The doorways in the drawing-room (Fig. 394) are an enriched version of those in the dining-room: no less than in the fireplace feature, the carving is of brilliant quality. The surrounds (Fig. 395) present a highly satisfying appearance when looked at closely—free, vigorous cutting and finely figured wood; the frieze member of the pediment is carved with interlacing foliage scrolls. Dating, no doubt, from about 1733, we see in it a survival of Gibbons' style of decoration. In similar work produced by London craftsmen, while the impression may be as rich, the design has



401.—A BEDROOM.



402.—IN THE DINING-ROOM.

A cupboard recess behind the door on the right of Fig. 393.

lost the imaginative vitality of Gibbons and this Bristol master's carving. These two rooms, taken in conjunction with the staircase, form a body of early eighteenth-century decoration which is unsurpassed, whether in palaces or churches.

The actual fireplaces in both these rooms are backed with magnificent panels of tiles, where the pattern, executed in purples and blues and representing flower compositions, covers a considerable number of tiles. In the dining-room a Chinese influence is visible in the peacocks and foliage; in the drawing-room the flower pieces of Van Huysum are the inspiration. Although such tile-pictures are usually associated with Delft, there can be little doubt that, in this instance, these emanated from a Bristol pottery. Delft was copied at Bristol from the mid-seventeenth century onward, and in 1730 the industry was at its zenith. Such sets as these are, however, very uncommon, and, but for their proximity to Bristol, would have been ascribed to Delft. There is little doubt that the craftsmen employed throughout the house were members of the Bristol group.

On the first floor a passage runs east and west, with arches either end and an arrangement of niches recalling Vanbrugh's treatment of similar spaces. The bedroom illustrated in Fig. 401 is, no doubt, much as it was left by the builder of the house, with large panels of Flemish tapestry clothing the walls. The bed is a charming example of a later epoch, with its painted cornice and delicately carved posts. In the hall hangs a set of enclosed wall-lights (Fig. 403) of walnut. The back consists of a mirror, while the front is formed by a glass bow. A somewhat similar set at Hampton Court Palace, dating from *circa* 1720, lacks the carved overthrow, but has a tin shade designed to ward off the heat of the candle from objects in the vicinity. These examples will, most likely, date from the time of the house's building.

Richard Clutterbuck died in 1775 without children. His sister, who had married a Mr. William Bell, had two daughters, both of whom succeeded at Frampton. The elder wedded Edmund Phillips, and had the place for her lifetime. Then it went to her younger sister, Ann, who was the wife of Nathaniel Winchcombe of Stratford House, Stroud. Their son, in 1801, assumed the name and arms of Clifford. The fifth holder of the property in descent from Nathaniel Winchcombe, the late Henry Francis Clifford, was killed in action in 1917.



403.—WALL-LIGHT OF MAHOGANY, 1720-30.
Height, 21½ ins.; width, 11½ ins.; projection 9 ins.

CHAPTER XVII

SEATON DELAVAL, NORTHUMBERLAND

THE writer's first sight of Vanbrugh's masterpiece was appropriately dramatic. It was on an October morning, half an hour after dawn, and just before we made Tynemouth. Our drifter was pitching disgustingly in an oily swell. The Farne Isles lights flickered wanly to the northward, and our eyes regarded the low dunes of the coast with disfavour. Inland rose bleak hills, but one stood out from them, nearer the sea and wooded, with a little harbour at its foot. "That's Seaton Sluice," they said. "The great Hall is in the trees, screened from the sea." "It's weird," said others, "all black and burnt. When you push the door you hear the ghosts swishing their wings and pattering up the staircase that fell down years ago. You can see Lindisfarne and the Cheviots from the front door." Just then we rounded Tynemouth Point and forgot about the gaunt shell of Seaton as we steamed up the long sea lane to Shields.

Coming from Newcastle, you turn between two vast gate-piers into the long, blasted avenue that leads seaward. Railway lines, part of the network that covers the district, have here and there violated the avenue's course. And then the trees thicken and meet overhead darkly; among their gnarled trunks you see for a moment great walls, like the magic castles of the story books—dark, cold grey walls, streaked with brown and purple. You cannot see clearly through the trees, but a great mass with towers and columns rears up against the racing clouds. You think of Salvator Rosa's tempestuous landscapes, and wonder whether, on a still evening, the place could have been painted by Claude as "The Enchanted Castle." But Salvator is the nearest to truth, with his twisted trees and sombre skies, over which sweeps the hoard of King Winter:

Now you may see his vanguard rise
Above the beachy precipice,
Bold horse on bleakest mountains bred,
With hail instead of provend fed.



404.—THE VAST ENTRANCE COURT.



405.—EAST WING AND TERMINAL PAVILION.



406.—THE WEST (KITCHEN) WING.



407.—AN ARCADE.

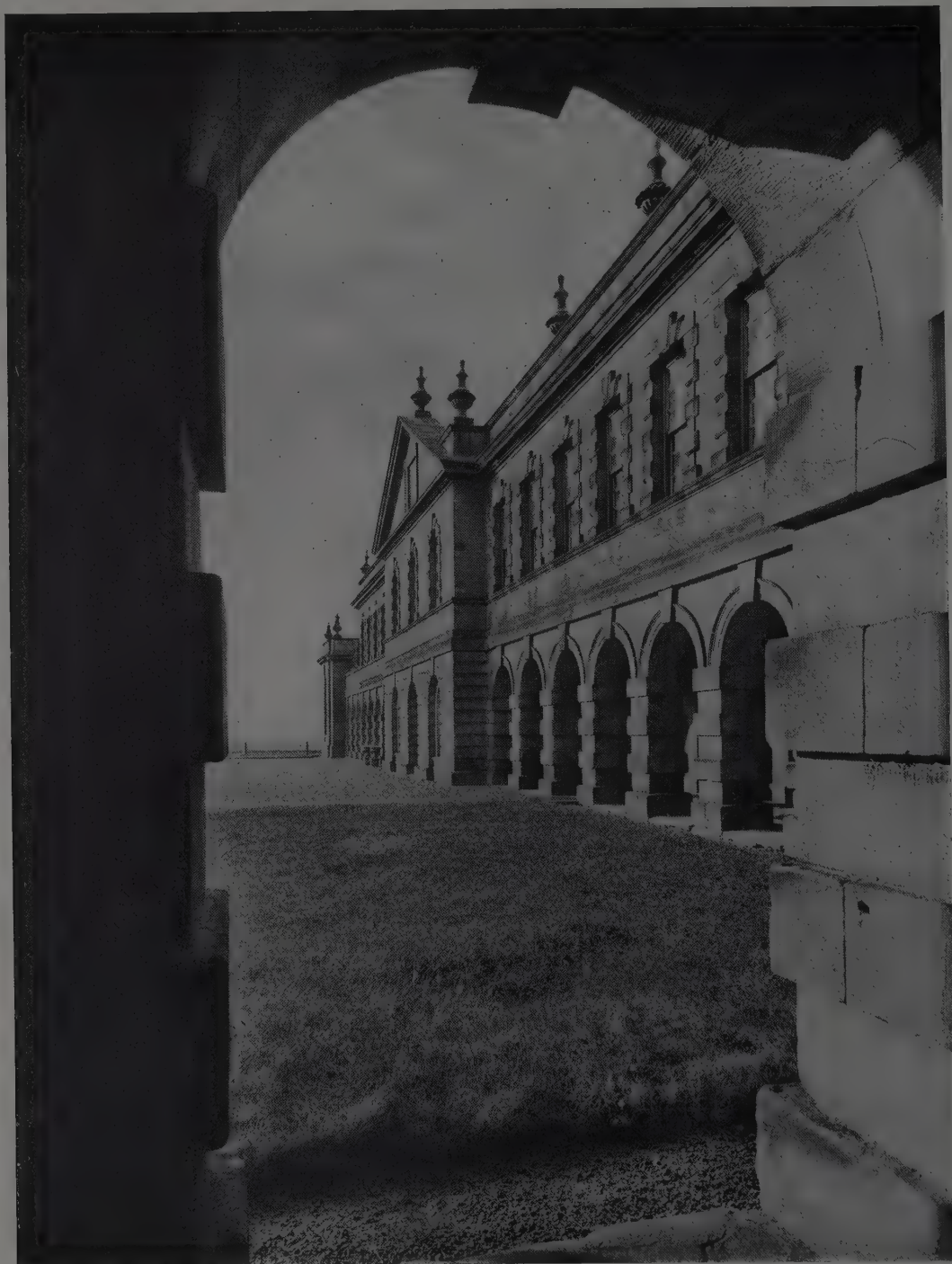
The wheels crunch frost-bound gravel; the wood is past, and you turn into the great court before this winter palace. Hollow eyes watch you from blind windows high in gigantic walls, and the wind howls among the balustraded battlements.

On either side this wide court, the north side of which is open and slopes down towards Blyth harbour and the sea, lie flanking ranges upon echoing arcades, ending, seawards, in pavilions with huge windows. Above them towers the central mass, silent, dark, deserted. A wide flight of steps leads upwards to the entrance arch, set in a heavily rusticated wall, bounded either side by three immense ringed Tuscan columns. These, resting upon stylobates rusticated like the basement of a Florentine palace, bear a Doric entablature with metopes between the triglyphs carved in strange trophies—a warrior's head, a griffin and an eagle. Above, raised upon a lofty attic storey, the pediment is filled with the achievements of Delaval, Blake and Hussey. The mass is bounded by octagonal turrets, and two great towers containing the stairs rise either side.



408.—EVENING LIGHT ON THE NORTH FRONT, LIKE ONE OF CLAUDE LORRAINE'S PALACES.

It is well to pause in this vast quiet court to adjust one's ideas to the wonderful pile that was built from Vanbrugh's designs between 1718 and 1728. It is his masterpiece, as well as being the last great house which he can be proved to have designed in detail himself and untrammelled by an existing structure. Judged emotionally, it is immensely impressive, particularly if approached in the mood we have chosen—which, surely, is the mood in which Vanbrugh meant it to be approached. In one respect, the whole is a triumph of the picturesque. Vanbrugh has wholly divested himself of the somewhat Palladian classicism of Castle Howard.



409.—LOOKING NORTHWARDS.

Independent of Hawksmoor in this case, and thus free from the influence of Wren and Palladio, we can see at Seaton the extent to which his own genius had developed. And we can see, more clearly than elsewhere, the sources of his inspiration. They were not Italian or French; not even architectural. They were, on the one hand, an abstract feeling for related masses; on the other, the fairy castles of Claude and Gaspar Poussin, the tragedies of Dryden. This huge court, stretching forth its mighty arms towards the sea and Scotland, is an arena for vast tragedy—a stage set for a gigantic opera, such as Vanbrugh, listening to Lully or Quinault, may have dreamt

of, but could not have heard till Wagner wrote the Venusberg. Its huge expanse seems peopled with tiny gesticulating figures in wind-swept draperies, arms and eyes lifted upwards, staggering beneath the weight of impending disaster—Niobe's children, Babel at its confusion, Gomorrah on the eve of the brimstone. The wind and the roar of distant surf thunder the symphony. We await but the advent of Jove, rolling above the pavilions on his artfully constructed cloud. For, before he was an architect Vanbrugh was a dramatist, and before either, we can justifiably believe, a romantic out of his time. At Seaton Delaval, too, he was given a free hand; and when he visited the old home of the Delavals in 1721 we know he had bad weather. One suspects he had storms on his first visit, too. The romantic nature of the site clearly stirred him to his depths, and he produced this splendid theatrical pile, this palace of the Fates and winds. During last century "theatrical" came to signify the imitation and shoddy; but the theatre that Vanbrugh built on the site of the present Haymarket was a splendid house with columns and a dome, where opera was given throughout the eighteenth century. And had he lived to-day, he would be one of Mr. Gordon Craig's stoutest allies, and, probably, a producer in the style of Max Reinhardt. The gutted condition of the central block to-day allows us all the more clearly to see the personality of the architect. The Delavals are dead, extinct; their home, which can never have reflected much of their own personality—though, as we shall see later, it may have moulded their inclination—stands only a monument to the genius of Vanbrugh.

Like his virtual predecessor (though actually his contemporary), Wren, in whose architecture the geniality of the man and the aspiration of the scientist are continually revealing themselves, Vanbrugh brought a mind fully formed, by life and literature, to bear on creative art. It is not only his work at Blenheim that prompts us to call him the architectural counterpart of Marlborough. We have suggested he was a romantic born out of his time: an assertion that, in the face of his dramatic works and the accepted view taken of his period, will need some substantiation, for it is the key to his architecture. That such a quality should appear in his architecture and not in his plays is nothing very surprising. His plays, brilliant, full blooded, and as racy to-day as two hundred years ago, were, none the less, as rigidly adapted to the needs of the theatre of his day as a "successful" play must be in ours. Vanbrugh saw in the stage of the late seventeenth century a vehicle for his naturally effervescent wit and for boisterous satire upon the looseness of the morals of the time. His plays are extraordinarily good comedies of manners, of a kind which were crushed for three-quarters of a century by the puritanical ebullition following on Jeremy Collier's "Short View of the English Stage," published in 1698. He had no wish, and no need, in the writing of such pieces, to draw on his inner, more serious nature, save in so far as it formed his moral standard or outlook, which was as high as Hogarth's or Fielding's. There is none of the deliberate lewdness of the earlier dramatists in his plays; and the bawdy, which was essential to the success of any comic piece, is always slung by him with deliberate aim at the people satirised. His plays, like his letters and, on the authority of Cibber, like his ordinary conversation, are witty, straightforward and allusive caricatures of the world he accepted but did not particularly admire. He was also one of the foremost patrons of opera in this country and a firm believer in its eventual success in the theatre which he had built, and in which he put on his own plays and opera alternately. Something of the grandeur of opera permeates all his architectural work.

It is not entirely fantastic to suppose that Vanbrugh's imprisonment in the Bastille, coming at a time when he was almost certainly interesting himself in the *châteaux* and *hôtels* of le Vau and Mansard and admiring the recently dead Surintendant des Bâtiments, Colbert, became fused in his mind with architecture. That, in fact, he developed a "Bastille complex." Did he not once exclaim, in the heat of the Blenheim turmoil, that Duchess Sarah was endeavouring "to throw me into an English Bastille, to finish my dayes, as I begun them in a French one." Though he did not call his own castellated house at Greenwich his Bastille, it came to be known under that name. The memory of his adventures never quite left him, and, uniting with his interest in old buildings and paintings, may have contributed to his designing edifices that are a combination of French, Italian and castellated styles.

The great majority of his works, if they were not originally intended actually to be castles, such as Blenheim Castle (the omission of this appellation has confused most people who view

the palace), are either on the site of castles, as Seaton Delaval and Castle Howard, are additions to Plantagenet or Tudor buildings, such as Kimbolton, Nottingham and Lumley, or have more than a little of the castle fused with the prevailing Palladian, as at Grimsthorpe, and in practically everything that came from his hand. This tendency has been variously expressed as "an attempt to obtain dignity by largeness of detail," "Brobdingnagian principles," and, in Dr. Evan's famous epitaph, "lie heavy on him earth—."

This prepossession of Vanbrugh by the mediæval has never been adequately appreciated by critics of his architecture. Sir Joshua Reynolds seems to have grasped the fact, but never enunciated it in so many words; and descriptions of Blenheim have pointed out the Gothic manner in which Vanbrugh piles up his vertical masses, and justice has been done to the picturesque effect. But critics have been content with calling him the English Michelangelo or the British Bernini.

In the various collections of his letters which survive there are periodic assertions of his



410.—THE NORTH ELEVATION: DRAMATIC, BAROQUE AND CASTELLATED.

views on architecture. Thus, in those to the Duke of Manchester relating to his work at Kimbolton he refers to the finished work as being "in a manly style"—an end to which he evidently strove in all his designs. Moreover, in the same correspondence, in a letter urging the re-building in a castellated style and the re-use therein of old materials, he points out that the method had been used successfully during Charles II's reign. It is not quite certain what particular building is referred to, but one is strongly inclined to suggest that he had in mind such edifices as Lulworth Castle, Longford, the restoration at Durham Castle, and the work of the two Smithsons at Bolsover and Nottingham; instances all of the adaptation of Gothic ideas to seventeenth-century requirements.

We have already (page xxv) suggested that Vanbrugh was in sympathy with the semi-Gothic style of the Smithsons. This virile English school, after a last manifestation at the building of Nottingham Castle in 1677 for the second Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, is

practically submerged in the Continental style that became popular at the Restoration, with Webb, May, Wren, Talman and the rest as its architects. Now, Seaton Delaval has several points in similarity with Smithsonian work, and it is significant that a few months before its commencement Vanbrugh had been, in his own words, "the instrument of your [the Duke of Newcastle] fixing on this castle for your Northern seat," which, as he writes, "I cannot but think you will extremely like when a little us'd to it. At first perhaps you'll think it Stairs you in the face wth a pretty Impudent Countenance." This may refer to the situation "on a precipice 100 foot high," but, more probably, is in reference to the bold outline and rusticated walls of that now much altered castle. Vanbrugh's buildings have, every one of them, that "pretty impudence," transformed by his large operative mind into grandeur. Indeed, he is the culmination of the Smithsonian tradition; but, while the Smithsons were provincial builders, drawing their novelties from Germany, Vanbrugh was a cultured and travelled metropolitan, acquainted with the architecture of the Roy Soleil, as, probably, with that of Bernini and Borromini. More, perhaps, than any other architect, including even these two Italians, Vanbrugh carried the principles of baroque to their farthest possibilities: that enlargement of the unit of design which Michelangelo introduced from painting into architecture. But, in spite of this no more than superficial employment of current architectural terms, Vanbrugh's massing is essentially picturesque, Smithsonian, romantic.

Yet Seaton is anything but formless. It is a grand, simple design. Its force is not, as at Blenheim, the force of piled up, gigantic details, but the force of masses passionately conceived, but deliberately simplified and composed. As seen from the north (Fig. 410), it is the restraint and the inter-relation of the masses that produce the effect. The skyline of the main block was intended to have colossal statuary enriching the pediment and the podiums supported by the columns. Without them the design is seen all the better in its massive austerity. There is not a redundant form in the whole composition. Every line tells. Yet it is not a linear, but a plastic, conception. The harmonious handling of the masses appears more clearly as we move off the axial line. A diagonal view, such as that shown in Fig. 408, reveals a composition that derives its effect entirely from the relation of large, simple forms. The octagonal angle turrets are alone slightly inadequate, effective though they are in elevation. From the south-east and south-west we get a still livelier sensation of volume and of related masses (Figs. 411 and 412). In these side elevations the profiles of the arched chimney stacks of the main block boldly interrupt the horizontal lines of the roof, echoing the vertical motive of the staircase towers. In a three-dimensional pattern of rectangular cubes the restrained use of semicircles in the pediment and stair-tower windows provides just the relief needed by the eye. Similarly, in the north front the large lunette over the entrance forms a suave centre to a whole that is austere. We shall look in vain for other buildings in England, of any period, that surpass, even equal, the rhythmic unity of Seaton considered as a symphony of masses. Beside it, St. Paul's is comparatively lifeless, Hampton Court demure, and the Banqueting House, Whitehall, a scholarly pastiche. More learned architects, even if they had Vanbrugh's plastic consciousness, have failed to give their designs such singleness of style and purpose; while the mediæval designers, with their concentration on linear pattern, never let their masses express their emotion unembroidered. The masses of Seaton are vitally alive. They "move." If we hesitate to place Vanbrugh, on the strength of this building, among the greatest architects, we may remember the opinion of another genius in the same art, Robert Adam:

Sir John Vanbrugh's genius was of the first class; and, in point of movement, novelty and ingenuity, his works have not been exceeded by anything in modern (that is, since classic) times.

It is to the monumental structures of Imperial Rome, the *thermæ* of the Emperors stripped of their marbles, that we must look for a comparison with Seaton. Comparable qualities emerge in the French romanesque cathedral of Périgueux, and survive in that of Albi; and Bernini caught them in the colonnades of St. Peter's. That is the plane on which Vanbrugh's maturest work must be judged.

Admiral George Delaval, who built the house, was a man of property and of action. The old house of Seaton was out of repair and more or less deserted by the impoverished sons of Sir Ralph, the first baronet. In February, 1717, the admiral, who was of the neighbouring branch, living at Dissington, bought Seaton from Sir John, the last of the elder line. A few of the admiral's letters to his brother survive, in which we can trace his schemes for Seaton. First,

he intended to restore it, and avenues were planted. As soon as February, 1718, he writes a postscript to a letter from London :

I should tell you that Sir J. Vanbrugh built Castle Howard, and it is from thence I hope to carry him.

A few days later he again writes :

I intend to persuade Sir John Vanbrugh to see Seton if possible & to give me a plan of a house, or to alter the old one, which he is most excellent at ; and if he cannot come, he'll recommend a man at York who understands these matters. So something may be done by degrees & be the entertainment of our old age, or as long as we can live. I am much out of order with the Scurvy.

Thus, true to the tradition of a "gay Delaval," the old gentleman set about building this vast pile for the entertainment of his old age. The mention of the "Man at York" is of the first importance, for we are on the point of finding who was Vanbrugh's assistant in Northumberland, as Coleman was at Kimbolton and Wakefield at Duncombe. At first, one expects to find it is Wakefield himself. But, although we are never actually told who the "Man



411.—THE SOUTH FRONT AND THE SUPERB PORTICO.

at York" was, it is quite certain from the accounts that he was Etty, for many years resident architect and clerk of the works under Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor at Castle Howard. There can be no doubt that he was a native of York, probably the son or grandson of the architect who, as Thomas Murray tells us, "first employed Grinling Gibbons" (page 238).

There are no letters to or from Vanbrugh among the Delaval papers, but in Newcastle MSS. is a communication written by Vanbrugh to Brigadier Watkins on the occasion of a subsequent—probably his second—visit.

York, Aug. 26, 1721.

Could you see how busy I have been ever since I writ last, you would easily forgive my being so long before I did it again. I returned but last night from the North (for as you must know we are in the South) where I have been near 3 weeks finding a vast deal to do both at Delavals and Lumley Castle. Since it is not easy to go there often, I resolved to do all the service I could while I was there now. The Admiral is very gallant in his operations, not being disposed to starve the design at all. So that he is like to have a very fine dwelling for himself now, & his nephew hereafter.

If I had had Good Weather on this expedition I should have been well enough diverted in it, there being many more Valluable & Agreeable things & Places to be Seen, than in the Tame Sneaking South of England.

I am going in 3 or 4 days again to Castle Howard.

Here we get a definite date for one of his visits to Seaton Delaval, namely, August, 1721. Vanbrugh does not seem to have got so far north again till August, 1724 (eighteen months before his death), when he writes, "from a hundred miles further north I am now got back to the south—Scarborough." The Delaval papers, which might have told us so much more, are very defective for these years. During the first half of last century they were stored in a building without a roof at Ford Castle, another of the Delaval seats, and only fragments were rescued in the 'sixties—none, however, relating to the building.

From the great court, 180ft. long and 152ft. 6ins. broad, we ascend the steps to the hall. The ringed columns either side the entrance, to which we have already referred, are found in many of Vanbrugh's works, notably at Blenheim and Grimsthorpe. Within (Fig. 417), the light stone walls are calcined by the disastrous fire which took place in the night of January 3rd, 1822, probably as



412.—STAIRCASE TOWER ON THE WEST FLANK.

a result of an exposed beam in a chimney. Practically the whole centre block was gutted, the south side worse than the north. The roof fell in, and the present one was only put on after the building had, for many years, been open to the weather. In the hall much delicate work has fallen down; the ceiling is open to the high roof, where pigeons and daws flap hysterically. This great apartment, 44ft. long by 25ft. broad, was originally 30ft. high, with a graceful gallery, as at Castle Howard (Fig. 22) and Blenheim (Fig. 137), carrying the first-floor passage across the end opposite the entrance door. Magnificent baroque consoles bear it up, and singularly delicate ironwork forms the balustrade. The chimneypiece is formed by two stucco torsos, which, though different from each other, yet both incline their heads to the inner door to the saloon. These bear an entablature sculptured with an exquisite frieze of figures in bas-relief by an Italian hand. The great niches in the upper half of the walls are filled not with grisaille paintings representing sculpture, such as we find at Grimsthorpe, Kings Weston and Easton Neston, but



413.—THE SOUTH FRONT.

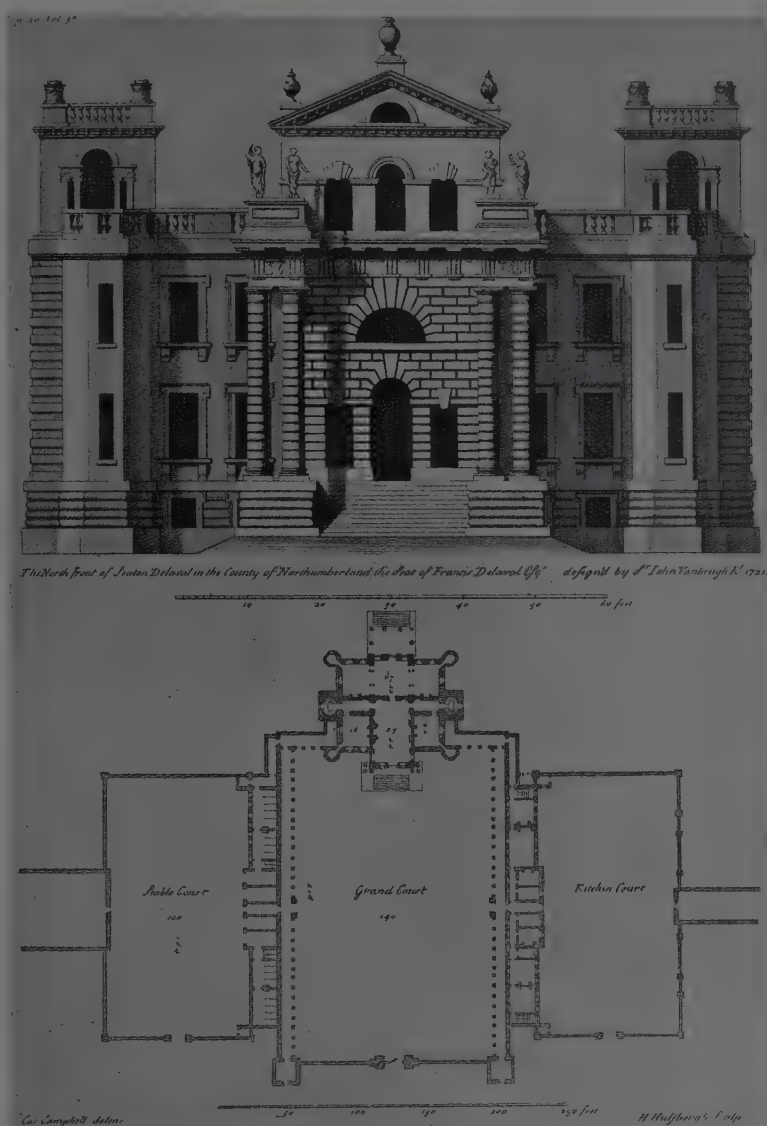


414.—DEEPLY CUT COLUMNS OF THE PORTICO.

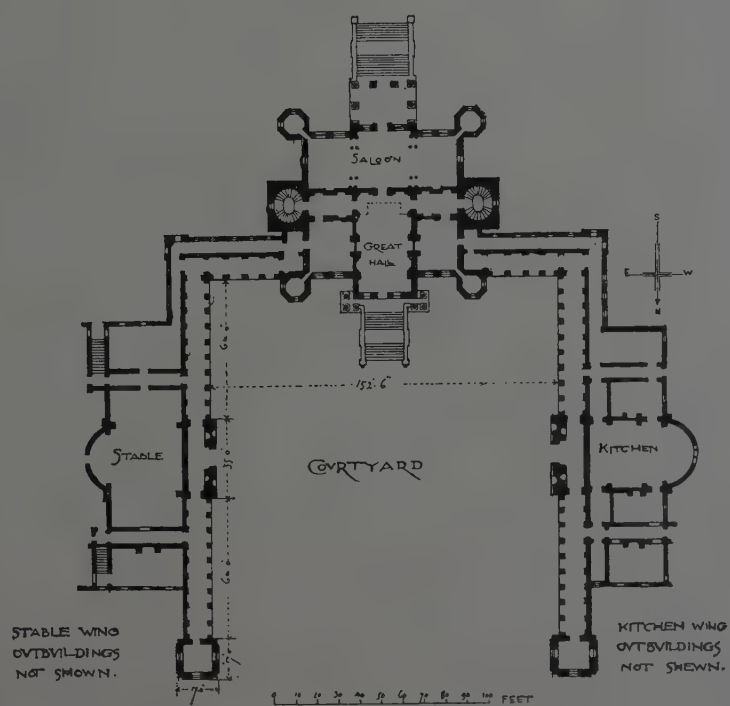
with actual statues of stucco representing the liberal arts. Decomposition has revealed in them the manner of their fashioning, for in some cases the draperies have rotted away, exposing a completely modelled human form beneath. It was not unusual for the Italians so to drape nude statuary, to comply with English modesty. The wall treatment is similar to that given to the slightly later hall at Grimsthorpe. The ceiling will have been supported on a plaster cornice and, probably, have contained a large oval, as at Grimsthorpe and Kings Weston. The interstices between the statues are said to have been filled with portraits of Lord and Lady Delaval and their children—large copies by a Newcastle artist named William Bell, in the manner of Sir Joshua, which have been preserved and still hang in the west wing. These were, of course, not part of the original scheme, as the Delaval barony was not created till 1761.

On either side the hall, beneath the gallery, a vaulted passage conducts to the winding stairs contained in massive towers, one of which is seen in Fig. 412. These are a complete reversion to the mediæval, skilfully constructed, though they are, with a central well. Newel stairs on a smaller scale were used in the entrance hall at Blenheim, but entirely concealed from view.

Beyond the hall is the gutted saloon, or gallery, 75ft. long and 30ft. wide, divided into three sections by semi-screens of square Corinthian columns, four to each, the capitals of which now lie in the hall. The ceiling of this apartment is described as having been painted by Verelli, and to have been exquisitely modelled and admirably coloured. Other full lengths of the family, of the series before mentioned, adorned the walls. Thence, to quote the descriptive passage from a history of Northumberland published in 1811, "At the east end of the saloon a small antechamber leads into a spacious



415.—ELEVATION AND PLAN, FROM "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS."



416.—PLAN BY MR. A. STRATTON, FROM "LATER RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE."

drawing-room and a lesser drawing-room, contiguous to an elegant eating-room, beautifully ornamented with festoons of fruit and flowers, formed of most durable composition, and so admirably painted as perfectly to resemble Nature." Alas! the composition was not sufficiently durable to resist the fire, which destroyed all but one room.

From the saloon, which is now dark with windows boarded up, floorless, and with walls of bare stone and brick, access used to be gained on to the great portico of the south front, with a view over rolling country to the ruins of Tynemouth Priory, with white-sailed colliers lying off the coast. This south front (Fig. 411) is as smiling as the north was grim. The magnificent fluted Ionic columns have the deep-cut surface and richness of classic work. The shadows and dark colour of the columns remind us again of the porticoes and ruined temples of Claude. The wall surface on either side is placid, the windows furnished with graceful pediments and other refined details. The analogy to the garden front of Eastbury (Fig. 253) is very close. On this, as on the other front, groups of statuary will have adorned the top of the pediments, where bases for their reception are seen against the sky.



417.—THE GREAT HALL, AND GALLERY OVER THE DOOR TO THE SALOON.

The sides of the main block are marked by the two staircase towers, heavily rusticated for two-thirds of their height, and four venetian windows in the head of each, looking to the four points of the compass, similar to the angle towers of Eastbury and Vanbrugh House (Fig. 279).

In all Vanbrugh's large houses the principal floor is supported by a vaulted basement of almost cyclopean strength. Even his Opera House had vaults beneath it, and Seaton Delaval is no exception. Though here and there, especially on the garden fronts, the actual shaping and fitting together of some of the stones is questionable—for example, keystones are sometimes false, and arches, in consequence, unstable, defects which must be attributed mainly to the mason on the spot—on the whole, the masonry throughout is wonderfully perfect, in spite of a century of disuse.

The closest parallel to Seaton is the executed design of Eastbury (Fig. 252), the earlier designs for which were finished by 1718—the same year that Admiral Delaval “hoped to persuade

Sir John Vanbrugh to see Seton." In each case the elevations are defined by towers of almost identical treatment. In the centre of the main front a bold feature rises above the roof-line: at Seaton in the form of a pediment, at Eastbury with flat balustraded summit. The surviving forecourt wing at Eastbury is closely similar to those at Seaton, with an arcade running the length of its inner face. Eastbury was a considerably larger building, with two office courts on each side of the main forecourt, which were, moreover, designed to work up to the main block. At Seaton there is only one court on each side, and these have no outstanding architectural features. Indeed, the plan of the wings as existing (Fig. 416) differs radically from that given in "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," chiefly in the addition of a large kitchen and stable.

The admiral—who, in Vanbrugh's words, was very gallant in his operations—was cousin of the more famous Admiral Sir Ralph Delaval, buried in 1707 in Westminster Abbey. He bought Seaton from Sir John, the third and last baronet of the senior line of the family, which did not live in the old house. The property is first found in the possession of a Delaval during the reign of Henry I, when one Eustace held "Blackaliddon, Seton, Reusam and Discington." It was Seaton and Dissington that were to be most intimately connected with the family for six centuries. This Eustace would seem to have been a scion of that Guido Delaval, a Norman, who married the daughter of the Count of Mortain soon after the Conquest. While Guido had lands in Northumberland, his main fiefs were in Northamptonshire, to which his immediate successors added others in Oxfordshire and Lincolnshire. Eustace's descendants engaged in the Border wars and raids that occupied the population on either side of the Cheviots, with occasional summonses to appear in the South for expedition



418.—A CORNER OF THE GREAT HALL.



419.—THE HALL CHIMNEY AND CHARRED STUCCO FIGURES.

into France. So we come to Sir John, often High Sheriff of the county between 1543 and 1572, who was succeeded by Sir Robert (died 1607), followed by Sir Ralph, knight, who died in 1628. There are various references to him as a Border commissioner under the Council of the North, but never sufficient to individualise him. His grandson, Sir Ralph, who succeeded, married the daughter of General Leslie, first Earl of Leven, the famous leader of the Scots army during the Civil Wars. But he himself was staunch for the King all through, and was created a baronet at the Restoration. A son, Ralph, at this time emerges from the prevailing obscurity in one or two letters that have survived. Writing from Paris, in 1674, to his father, he complains :

My condition grows daily worse by my own folly and my wife's great unkindness ; but I may find a way to be even with her yet. If I could come home without money I would, but that is impossible, and I may as well starve here as anywhere.

A nameless correspondent completes the picture in 1681, writing from the Hague to Sir Ralph :

Lady Elizabeth Delaval is gone to Scotland and has dismissed me from her service. Before she went she made her will, by which your family shall have no benefit. Sir Harry Bellasis is her chief adviser, and said " Your Lordship (?) does nothing but what is just. Sir Ralph is a fool and a knave, governed by his sot wife."

This Ralph was the third son of his father, whom he succeeded in 1691 as the second baronet, having married a daughter of the first Earl of Warrington, and died in 1696.

Collateral with the Delavals of Seaton were those of North Dissington, springing from Sir Robert Delaval, knight (died 1607), and then represented by Edward Delaval, whose younger brother, George, was the builder of the present house. From his correspondence with Edward we learn the few facts already quoted about the development of his ideas on building.

Edward Delaval of Dissington had married a daughter of Sir Francis Blake of Ford Castle, Northumberland, the issue of which marriage, Francis Blake Delaval, is the nephew referred to in Vanbrugh's letter, who united the properties of Seaton, Dissington and Ford.

We may now enquire a little into the career of this Admiral George Delaval, the builder, and into the source of the wealth needed for such a vast undertaking. He appears to have entered the Navy early and, under Admiral Delaval, his uncle, to have risen with some rapidity. In 1698, when commanding the *Coventry* man-o'-war, he was appointed to treat with the Alcaid of Tangier, and in 1710, when still only a captain, was sent as envoy extraordinary to Portugal in the room of the Earl of Galway, and then to the Emperor of Morocco, to treat for horses and provisions for the confederate army under Lord Peterborough, then operating in Spain. About this time he was raised to the rank of admiral. In 1717, with funds from an unknown source, though one suspects that the Alcaid or the Emperor of Morocco may have contributed towards them, he bought Seaton from the third baronet, his distant cousin. Though, as we shall see, the Seaton property had commercial possibilities, the admiral would seem to have found it in need of reorganisation. In April, 1717, he wrote to his brother : " My Estate is let this year. I consider my estate will not bring in superfluities of money," for which reason he intends to go to sea again. " I would be glad to divert myself in my old age," he continues, " repairing the old house, making a garden and planting forest trees, for which we may expect prayers when we are no more. Praises, I should call it, for fear of being thought Popish "—an afterthought occasioned by the arrest of some of the Jacobite neighbours in Northumberland two years before. He then reverts to his decision to seek active service : " I must go to sea that it may be said I secured, and not that I was made a Flag to be called an Admiral ; and if I come to be Admiral I shall have £150 per annum half pay." Not that he was a poor man, but that he was careful of every odd pound after his investment in his new property. From the above, too, we see that the idea of re-building the house had not yet possessed his mind. We have seen that in February of 1718 he meant to approach Vanbrugh with a view to a restoration, which " he is most excellent at " ; but the same letter also indicates that the thought of a complete reconstruction was already in his mind. By the end of that year Vanbrugh seems to have visited the place and to have settled the matter definitely. The old house appears to have been left for two years, probably until part of the new one was far enough advanced to be inhabited ; demolition was in progress during October, 1720.

But long before the great house was completed the old admiral met his death by falling from his horse, which he had mounted one afternoon after dinner for a tour of the grounds, and his nephew, Francis, succeeded.

As to the source of the income whence such a vast pile was constructed : during the late seventeenth century the demand for coal slowly, but surely, increased. Much was exported from Newcastle to London and elsewhere by sea, fetching, in London, about 1638, 19s. a chaldron, including a 4s. excise. Before the Civil Wars Dudley was making spasmodic experiments in smelting iron by coal, but no progress in that direction was really made before the middle eighteenth century. Sir Ralph Delaval, the first baronet, not being a Newcastle merchant and, therefore, not bound by the Corporation's strict regulations, determined to exploit his estates, and to that end set about constructing a harbour for the colliers. A beck ran into the sea close below his castle, which, he hoped, with a pier, might provide a haven. The current, however was always silting up the basin. He then hit upon the idea of a sluice, holding back the waters of the beck until the tide was out, then opening them so that the pent-up beck rushed out and scoured the basin "as clear as a marble table." This little port was called Seaton Sluice, and Charles II appointed Sir Ralph collector and surveyor of his own port, "no one to meddle with him." "If on the whole the profits did not answer the account, the pleasure of designing and executing, which is the most exquisite of all, did it"—as an



420.—WEST WING, FIRST-FLOOR CORRIDOR.

old writer on the harbour points out. If Sir Ralph and his descendants did not reap a reward from this enterprise, the admiral seems to have put things on a better footing. Neither the second nor third baronets lived at Seaton, and probably the port languished. This will have enabled the admiral to purchase it at a price within his means. His own energy and knowledge of nautical business may have turned the port and the mines to account. In any case, he found no difficulty in financing a far more costly building than that he had originally contemplated.



421.—WEST WING, EXTERIOR OF KITCHEN.



422.—IN THE KITCHEN, LOOKING WEST.



423.—AND EASTWARDS.

As the great house was gradually completed—an event which occurred about 1728—and after the accession of Francis Blake Delaval, the neighbourhood became gayer and more *au monde*. He married Rhoda Apreece of Huntingdonshire, eventual heiress of her grandfather, Sir Thomas Hussey. By this marriage yet another property was added—that of Doddington in Lincolnshire. The numerous progeny of this marriage filled the great house with life. The second son, John Hussey Delaval, succeeded to Ford, while the eldest, Sir Francis Blake Delaval, K.B., who was an authority on Irish legislation, succeeded at Seaton and Doddington in 1751. There exist letters to him from the fourth Earl of Chesterfield—who, by the marriage of Anne Delaval to Sir William Stanhope, second son of the third Earl of Chesterfield, was Delaval's brother-in-law—touching Ireland, of which he was Lord-Lieutenant, and several from Samuel Foote, the actor. Some of these are to Doddington, and others shed some light on the doings at Seaton. There



424.—THE STABLES IN THE EAST WING.

seem to have been all manner of gaieties. George Delaval, writing to his brother, Thomas, in February, 1753, says :

It was in the *Daily Advertiser* that upwards of four thousand Gentlemen and Ladies had been assembled at Seaton Delaval to see the Rope dancers.

On another occasion Mrs. Astley, a sister, who had married Edward Astley of Melton Constable, but who passed much of her time here, wrote :

Bob has undertaken to entertain us with a Pantomim entertainment of his own composing, these Christmas holy days. He has taken in all most all the people in the house as performers. I fancy it will be a very curious sight.

Later we learn that Bob has performed his "Pantomim entertainment" before a great number of country folk, who showed their approbation with great fits of laughter. About the same time Foote writes :

There is no news but what the papers will bring, but we have long and pompous accounts of the Tilts, Tournements, Gamblings and Bull-batings at Seaton. Your uncle Price says that Mr. Pelham has hired two dancing Bears to transmit to your Brother by way of keeping him in the Country till the Parliament is up.

Thus the grand-operatic mind of Vanbrugh seems, by means of its expression in stone and mortar, to have been not without influence on the inhabitants of Seaton. While the frivolous members



425.—THE MAUSOLEUM. BUILT 1776.



426.—THE ORANGERY, WITH DANCING PUTTI.

of this large and happy family were enlivening the winter evenings in this way, some of the brothers were travelling, others studying. In 1751 Thomas Delaval was taken by Mr. Bosanquet, his tutor, into Saxony "to improve his knowledge of trade." Thus, he writes from Hamburg to his brother, imploring a loan of £120 to pay debts incurred through his inexperience and the sharp practice of those among whom he lived. Later, from Dresden, he recounts a visit paid to the china factory at Meissen: "They show you everything from the mixing of the Clay till it comes out in its last perfection. There is nothing that is not represented in this European china, which, in my opinion, is every bit as curious as that of China. The only fault I find is that it costs somewhat more."

The same Thomas afterwards founded a glass works at Hartley, near to Seaton, largely for the purpose of consuming the slack from Hartley collieries. His brother or nephew subsequently bought it from him.

Another brother—Edward Hussey Delaval—was an experimental chemist and one of the pioneers of research into the nature of electricity, as manifested in lightning. When St. Paul's was struck in 1772, he set up a lightning conductor of his own design. He also seems to have conducted experiments in his brother's glass works, as he published a treatise on the colour effects produced by certain metals when united with glass, and a quarto volume on "The causes of Changes in Opaque and Coloured Bodies," besides inventing several kinds of glass and artificial stone. These brothers have been combined into one man, "Thomas Edward," in all the pedigrees. We rely on the Dictionary of National Biography for their separation. Meanwhile, the two elder brothers, Sir Francis and John, were pursuing the science of success. Sir Francis had got himself elected to Parliament for Andover by the expedient of firing off a cannon charged with 500 guineas into the crowd round the hustings at polling time. In 1761 both brothers had been honoured, the former with the Bath, the latter with a baronetcy. Sir Francis,

however, died in 1771, aged only forty-eight, whereupon Seaton and Doddington went to Sir John, who already had Ford. Samuel Foote is said to have been deeply affected by his death; but, hearing that a post-mortem inquest was after cutting off his head, the comedian brightened up. "And what on earth," he asked, "will they get there? I have known poor Frank these five and twenty years, and I could never find anything in it." John, in 1783, materialised a peerage, though an Irish one—the Barony of Redford—as the King would not suffer Fox to create any more in the English peerage. Three years later, however, he received the English one from Pitt. He is celebrated in the *Rolliad* :

That noble convert, Berwick's honoured choice,
That faithful echo of the people's voice;
One day to gain an Irish title glad
For Fox he voted; so the People bade.
'Mongst English Lords ambitious grown to sit,
Next day the *People* bade him vote for Pitt.
To join the stream our Patriot nothing loath
By turns discretely gave his voice to both.

He would seem to be the "Punch Delaval" referred to in George Selwyn's letters to Lord Carlisle, while Wraxall, in his memoirs, records that at the age of seventy his person remained graceful and slender, his manners elegant, gay and pleasing. Representative of a great family, he was powerful and immensely wealthy. The heir to the long pedigree and his father's glory was a son, John, by his first wife, born in 1756. But this unfortunate youth perished in 1775, having been kicked in a vital organ by a laundry maid to whom he was paying addresses.

Thus died the last of the Delavals by the foot of a buxom slut. Over the broken remnants of so much hope, the dust of so long glory, his father raised a temple, less to commemorate his achievements than his genealogical significance. The old man stood, last of a dying race, surrounded by childless brothers and sisters, who had, all of them, given happy promise in their youth, and ordered the piling up of cyclopean stones for the reception of the least worthy, but the last, of his line. The mausoleum was never consecrated, owing, tradition has it, to the exorbitant fee required by the bishop.

Lord Delaval himself died one morning at breakfast, at Seaton Delaval, in the year 1808, aged eighty years. Of his six daughters, the Countess of Tyrconnel had a daughter and heiress—Susanna Lady Waterford—on whom he entailed all his estates; though Doddington and Seaton passed, for life, to his younger brother, Edward, the scientist, who lived till 1814, but he let Seaton to a Mr. Huthwaite. On the death of Lady Waterford an heir had to be sought in the



427.—LEAD FIGURES IN GARDEN.



428.—LEAD GROUP.

descendants of Rhoda, the sister who had married Mr.—later Sir—Edward Astley, of whom the present owner, Lord Hastings, is the representative.

In a room in the north-east angle of the main block are hung the mouldering pictures of the Delavals. It is the best room in the house now, for it retains its mahogany bolecion-moulded panelling. The use of this wood for panelling is always unusual, and we know, from a letter, the date of its erection, July, 1724, when the clerk of the works wrote that "two men were set on to wainscot the N.E. room with the Mahoygany wood which is so well dried it works very well." Wainscoting was an early use of mahogany to which it was not put when its beauty in the round came to be appreciated. In the north-east corner of the room is an ingenious double door, the leaves of which meet at right angles, thus forming the corner of the room, and, when open, lie flat against the thickness of the wall as it goes through to the octagonal closet contained in the angle turret. The doors thus move only through an angle of 45 degrees.

The wings were not affected by the fire, and are now two separate residences. The western one is the residence of Colonel Pollard, and contains the vast kitchen of the old house, lighted to the west by a venetian window set high in an ovoid bay (Fig. 421), and on the east by an interior window opening on to the corridor (Fig. 420), which runs the whole length of this wing. Though originally communicating only with the less important bedrooms, Vanbrugh has left it characteristically his own. This west wing was damaged by fire in May, 1752. The kitchen chimney had been smoking, and, in trying to remedy the defect, a beam was exposed, which at length burst into flames. The wing seems, at that time, to have been the independent residence of Mrs. Astley, for in the letters in which she recounts the tidings and thanks Providence for not having suffered the fire to break out in the night, she refers to all the rooms being consumed in the "wing where we live, and those under them"; the walls were not much affected, as was also the case when much the same thing happened seventy years later in the main block.

A pleasant garden abuts on the back of this wing, with parterres and fine lead figures. They will have come from Van Nost's workshops, whence Vanbrugh procured the statues for the grounds at Castle Howard, Kings Weston and, no doubt, Eastbury.

In the kitchen garden is the small orangery shown in Fig. 426, its parapet adorned with Van Nost *putti*, similar, though not identical, to those made by him for Melbourne Hall. Apart from its simplicity, there is little of Vanbrugh's imagination in the design of the building itself. Possibly, it is by Etty.

The mausoleum, in another part of the garden, is, evidently, imitated from the Temple at Castle Howard (page 46). As already stated, it was not built till after the death of Lord Delaval's son in 1775. There is no other instance of Vanbrugh's style being copied on such a scale after his death. Who was the architect does not transpire. This building, though the pillars are monoliths richly marked, and the stones throughout of unusual size, is, in effect, unsatisfactory and thin, a defect traceable largely to the unemphatic treatment and arrangement of the windows and the indecisiveness of the wall spaces.



429.—OIL PAINTING: *circa* 1750.

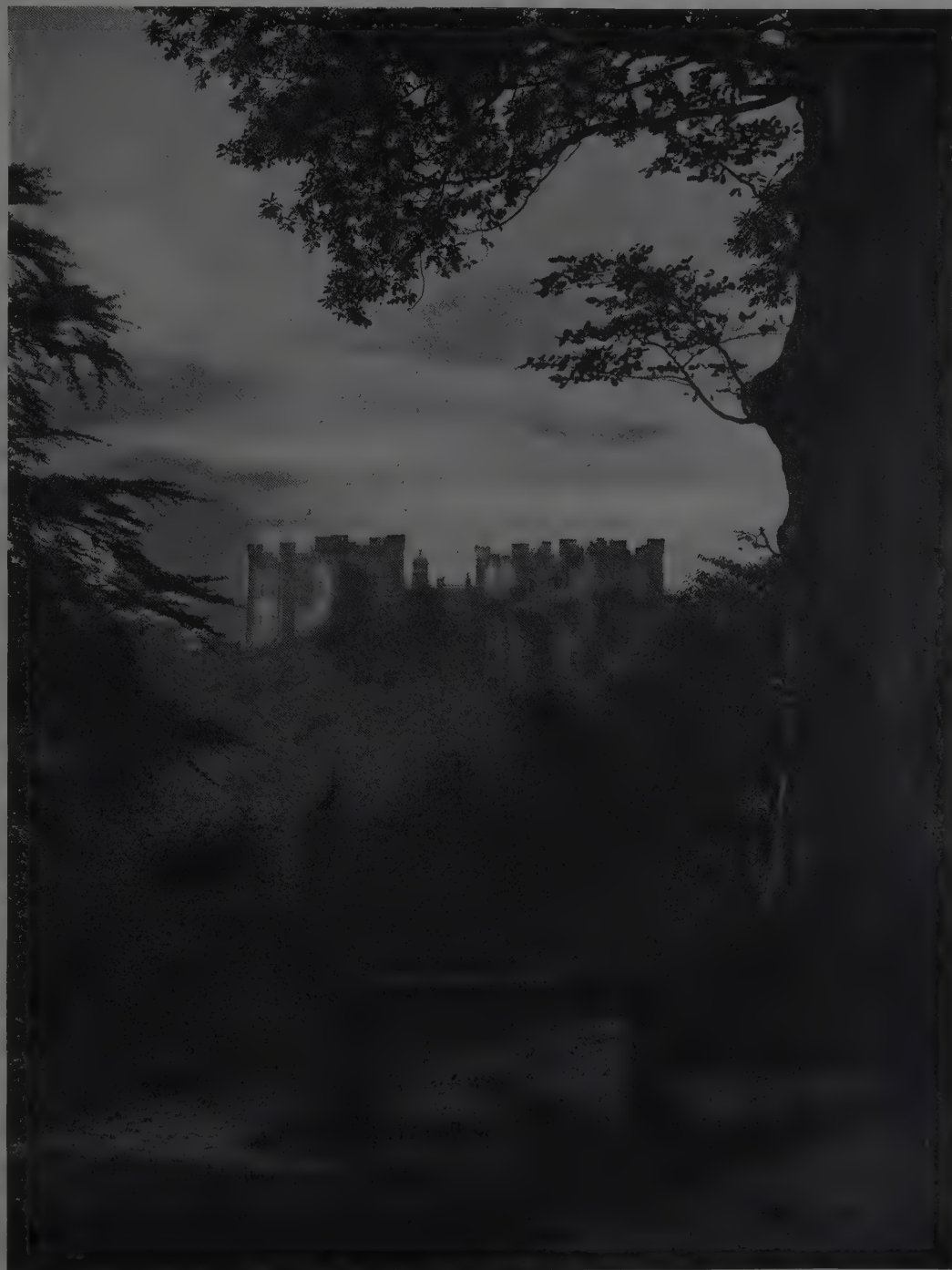
Now at Melton Constable.

CHAPTER XVIII

LUMLEY CASTLE, DURHAM

LUMLEY CASTLE grips the edge of the ravine of the Lumley Beck on its way to the River Wear, towards which the ground falls easily and suavely from the south and west sides of the castle. Here was a landscape which could be thoroughly appreciated by Vanbrugh, who, familiar for a score of years with the Yorkshire Dale-country north of Henderskelfe, assured Brigadier Watkins in 1721 that in those parts there were "many more Valluable & Agreeable things & Places to be Seen, than in the Tame Sneaking South of England." It must, therefore, have been pleasant to him to extend his sphere of action beyond the Yorkshire bounds to Northumberland and Durham, where Admiral Delaval and Lord Scarbrough invited his assistance. Seaton Delaval, as we have seen (page 274), began to be rebuilt in 1718, and it was three years later that Vanbrugh went to see Lumley and decided with its owner what alterations should be made there.

It was in the days of Richard II that Ralph Lord Lumley, obtained license to embattle his new building in the Chester-le-Street neighbourhood. Four towers formed the corners of a square and were connected by lower buildings running round a court. Such was Ralph Lumley's house to which his descendant John—son-in-law to the last FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, and inheritor from him of Nonsuch Palace and of what was, probably, the amplest array of



430.—"TOWERS AND BATTLEMENTS IT SEES
BOSOM'D HIGH IN TUFTED TREES."



431.—THE WEST FRONT.

pictures and furniture then in England—gave an Elizabethan character, as far as its interior was concerned, but retained the exterior almost untouched (Fig. 430). As he left it so it remained even to the end of the long life of the Richard Lumley who was made Earl of Scarbrough by William III, and died in 1721.

The Elizabethan Lord Lumley had had no son, and as his English barony had been revived for him after his father's forfeiture, it became extinct at his death in 1609 when the Durham estate passed to Sir Richard Lumley, a distant cousin settled in Ireland. He, in 1628, was created Viscount Lumley of Waterford, and, dying in 1657, was succeeded in title and estates by a young grandson who prospered much during the sixty-three years he held them. Charles II revived the



432.—THE GREAT HALL.



433.—THE BANQUETING HALL.

English barony of Lumley Castle for him in 1681, and a decade later William III gave him the earldom. He, however, concentrated his attention upon his Sussex seat of Stanstead, and before his death seems to have handed Lumley over to his son. Born in 1688, the son,

another Richard, was among the Whigs who obtained office under the Hanoverian *régime* and was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber and Master of the Horse to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. That was in 1714, and in the following year he was, as Lord Lumley, given a seat in the House of Lords during his father's lifetime. That would bring him into the circle from which Vanbrugh derived his noble clients—the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, Manchester and Ancaster, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lords Cobham and Fairfax. In the summer previous to his father's death, on



434.—THE DINING-ROOM.

December 1st, 1721, he certainly had a free hand in matters affecting the Wear-side castle, for it was then that he called in the favoured architect of his social group. We find that in August Vanbrugh is visiting Castle Howard, where Carlisle is "going on with his Works as usual." But there is time for play as well as for work, so that a York week with "a Race every day and a Ball every night" is indulged in. There is, indeed, as he writes to Newcastle on the 8th of the month, more company at Castle Howard than he likes, "So am going to morrow to Lumley Castle And Delavals. w^{ch} will take me up a fortnight." He had a busy time there, but was back at Castle Howard by the 26th, and writes thence to Brigadier Watkins that at both places he had found "a vast deal to do," and then enthusiastically describes the changes that he has proposed at Lumley:

Lumley Castle is a Noble thing; and well deserves the Favours Lord Lumley designs to bestow upon it; In order to which, I stay'd there near a Week, to form a General Design for the whole, Which consists, in altering the House both for State, Beauty and Convenience, And making the Courts, Gardens and Offices Suitable to it; All which I believe may be done, for a Sum, that can never ly very heavy upon the Family.

Vanbrugh's view of reaching "Beauty and Convenience" was to give to the interior, as far as the ancient structure allowed, the disposition and decorations prevalent in his day, and

also to add to the general amenity by getting a dignified access to new gardens occupying the easy western slope. But only such exterior changes were to be made as were absolutely necessary to give reasonableness and completion to the new work. Thus, while the hall might, on the court side (Fig. 432), retain its Elizabethan chimneypiece and its Richard II windows, the reception rooms, with their new baroque garb, must be provided with sashes, while the western lay-out of steps and terraces called for the same architectural features. Therefore, the outer walls of the hall and those of its flanking towers were pierced by varied apertures of classic character, although the battlements and Gothic sky-line were retained (Fig. 431). It was, probably, the same stuccoists that had been employed in Yorkshire who were sent down to decorate the saloon (Fig. 433), while one of the capable York joiners will have been responsible for the woodwork of the dining-room (Fig. 434). Vanbrugh's own touch, however, is better seen in a room of the undercroft (Fig. 435) that closely resembles a like feature at Grimsthorpe (Fig. 457).

To such confirmed mediævalists as the late Sir St. John Hope, Vanbrugh's alterations were "blemishes." We, however, rather see in them a capable adjustment of old forms to new requirements, of a Gothic structure to the call of a Whig magnate for a "palazzo" disposition. That, of course, forced an inroad upon architectural consistency. But Vanbrugh, alone of the professionals of his day, was able to effect this without destroying the dramatic outline and picturesque grouping of Ralph Lumley's fourteenth-century house.



435.—THE CANTEEN.

CHAPTER XIX

GRIMSTHORPE CASTLE, LINCOLNSHIRE

GRIMSTHORPE is the last designed of Sir John Vanbrugh's existing houses. Designs were being made out between 1722 and 1723, and he died in 1726. It may thus be taken as his maturest work. Moreover, he does not appear to have had Hawksmoor in partnership with him for this undertaking, nor one of the experienced builders, such as Etty or Wakefield, who assisted him in his North Country operations, though, if further documentary evidence were available, we could be more certain on this point. But, although Grimsthorpe is Vanbrugh unassisted, it is also Vanbrugh incomplete. The design cannot be fairly compared to Seaton or any of his complete buildings, since the portion designed by him here is, in reality, only one side of a quadrangular house of very much greater age, and only one part of the complete design which Colin Campbell gives in "*Vitruvius Britannicus*." Moreover, this side replaced a similar range of buildings which cannot have been above fifty years old. As shown in Kip's view (Fig. 448), this was of the typical mid-seventeenth century type which Webb and Hugh May sometimes built. Thus, Vanbrugh was, probably, tied down to something on the lines of the previous range, which, we may assume, had got too small for its ducal owners. Grimsthorpe, in fact, belongs to the series of his adaptations, chief of which are Lumley Castle and Kimbolton, rather than to his original designs. Nevertheless, his great north front (Figs. 439 to 441) is a magnificent conception, if more conventional than his earlier work. We have not here the dramatic sky-line, the massing of culminating forms around the centre portal, so impressive both at Blenheim and, on a small scale, at Kings Weston. Instead, we have a forecourt, defined



436.—THROUGH THE ENTRANCE GATES INTO THE FORECOURT.



437.—THE OLD EAST SIDE.

Elizabethan bay windows on the left. The back of the forecourt wall to the right.



438.—A CYCLOPEAN CASTLE.



439, 440 and 441.—VIEWS OF VANBRUGH'S ENTRANCE FRONT.



442.—A CORNER OF THE FORECOURT AT SUNSET.



443.—A PEEP AT VANBRUGH'S "CASTLE."

by pavilions at the angles, that derives from Jacobean precedents, and a façade of which the centre is the least emphatic point in the whole design. It is as though the large peaceful landscape of Lincolnshire had imposed on Vanbrugh an unwonted placidity.

Letters from Vanbrugh to the Duke of Newcastle, extracts from which will be found on pages 312 and 313, show that Sir John first went to Grimsthorpe in the autumn of 1718, and then as a political emissary rather than as an architect. However, by the time the first Duke of Ancaster died, in July, 1723, designs had been made out for the re-building of the house, which the second duke lost no time in putting into execution. Vanbrugh was here in September, 1723, and on December 22nd of the same year told Newcastle that he "has writ to Grimsthorpe": which may mark the end of the demolitions and the beginning of digging the foundations for the new range. Probably during the course of 1724, when he again spent a long time at Castle Howard in the congenial company of Lord Carlisle's excellent friends, he paid a third visit to Grimsthorpe to see the progress of the work. But there are no further references in any letters or records either to him or the work. Nor was any attempt subsequently made to complete the scheme. Probably, money and enthusiasm had run out by Vanbrugh's death. It seems unlikely that Vanbrugh made out detailed elevations for the other fronts or a complete plan. The extreme poverty of the Palladian garden front (Fig. 450) suggests that, wishing to include Grimsthorpe in the 1725 volume of "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," Campbell found that the



444.—THE GARDEN FRONT.

On the right, King John's Tower. Thirteenth century.

drawings were mere sketches, and so had to piece together a design himself. The plan reproduced by Campbell (Fig. 451) is more typical. As at Kings Weston, Vanbrugh retained the main lines of the earlier house, adapting his scheme to the courtyard form. A gallery was to have run at first-floor level from the heads of the staircases at either end of the hall round the three remaining sides of the courtyard. The south front would have contained a saloon in the centre, opening on to a terrace under a portico. At either end of this façade were to have been tower-like projections



445.—FROM THE ROSE GARDEN.

replacing King John's tower and that remaining at the south-west angle. The west wing was to have provided the principal reception rooms.

Grimsthorpe is thus the last of Vanbrugh's castles. It has scarcely been properly appreciated that Vanbrugh was, throughout his architectural career, a builder not of houses, but of castles. The house at Greenwich which he built for himself is a castle much less sham than the kind Sanderson Miller or Walpole liked fifty years later. Imprisoned for two years, at the time when he was, probably, studying architecture in a dilèttante manner in France, and



446.—GABLES AND CHIMNEYS ON THE SOUTH FRONT.

confined in Vincennes, we have suggested that a kind of castle complex was generated in his mind, so that architecture with him became for ever afterwards associated with fortresses. His plays, for the most part written some ten years before he began to devote himself wholly to architecture, give the same impression as his buildings of having been set down absolutely as his turbulent and unpedantic mind conceived them." What references there are to architecture in them are, for the most part, to castles. In Act III, Scene 3 of "The Relapse," produced in December, 1696, there is an excellent scene, "Before Sir Tunbelly Clumsy's Country House," which is stated to have a drawbridge, hall, gate-house, etc. A high-spirited younger brother

and his man are engaged in impersonating Lord Foppington, and eloping with his promised heiress :

Enter Young Fashion and Lory.

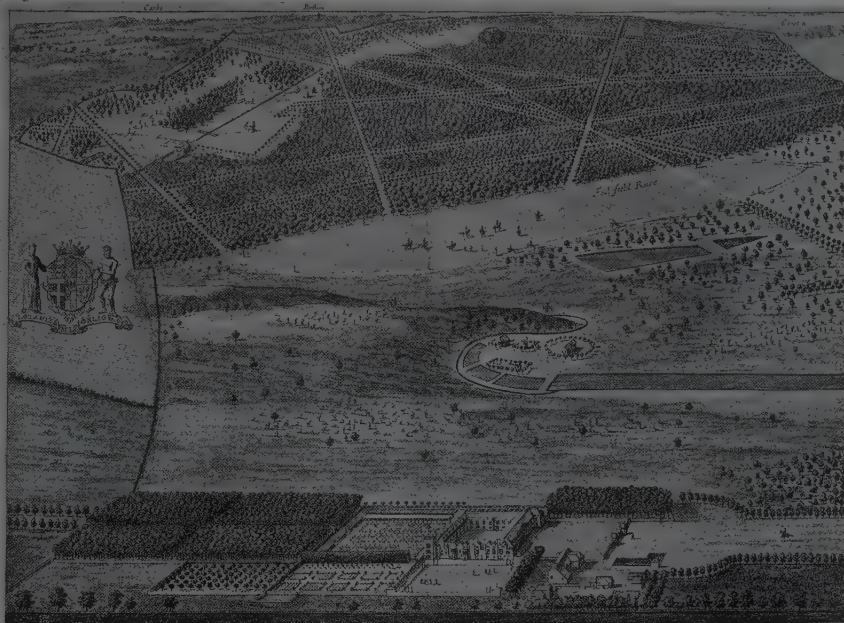
Fash : So, here's our inheritance, Lory, if we can but get into possession. But methinks the seat of our family looks like Noah's Ark, as if the chief part on't were designed for the fowls of the air, and beasts of the field.

LORY : Pray, Sir, don't let your head run on orders of building here ; get but the heiress and let the devil take the house. . . . Egad, sir, this will prove some enchanted castle ; we shall have the giant come out by and by with his club, and beat our brains out.

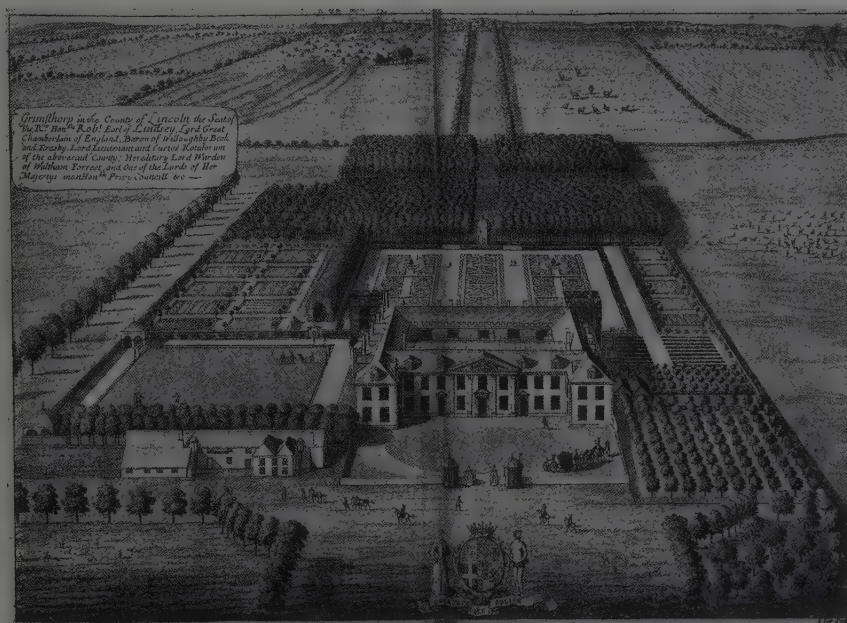
Here are typical conceptions of a romantic mind, and in none of his buildings did Vanbrugh quite forget the "enchanted castle" element ; like Lory, standing before his mighty façades, we constantly expect "to have the giant come out by and by with his club."

Grimsthorpe lies on the edge of the rolling country in south Lincolnshire, overlooking Bourne and the fens stretching away blue and mauve to the east, intersected by straight stretches of road or railway. It is a large country, nearer the scale of Touraine, perhaps, than anything in England ; the fields, woods and avenues are large : Grimsthorpe is to scale.

The castle looks very much of a castle as one approaches it from Edenham, where Charles Harris's great marble monument of the Duke of Ancaster adorns the church, having thrust two admirable, but anonymous, crusaders in hauberk and mail into the west porch. It stands high on a ridge, and we see it in profile ; a long jumbled array of chimneys, towers and battlements, beginning with a squat, batter-walled tower on the left, and culminating to the right in a vast pile crowned with balustrade and corner *tourelles*. This latter, after we have swept round



447.—LOOKING WEST OVER THE PARK. KIP'S ENGRAVING.



448.—THE CHARLES II ENTRANCE FRONT AND LAY-OUT.



449.—THE PARK, FROM THE WEST.



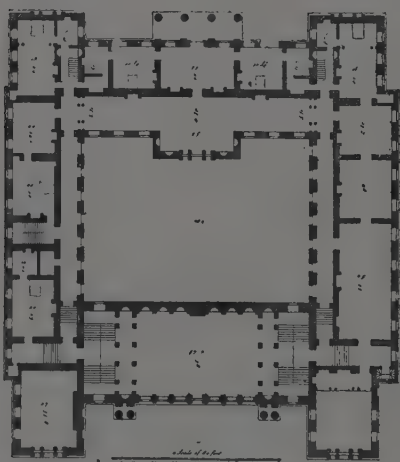
450.—THE GARDEN FRONT.

According to "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," it was intended to re-build the entire house. The plate ascribes this elevation to Vanbrugh, which is doubtful.

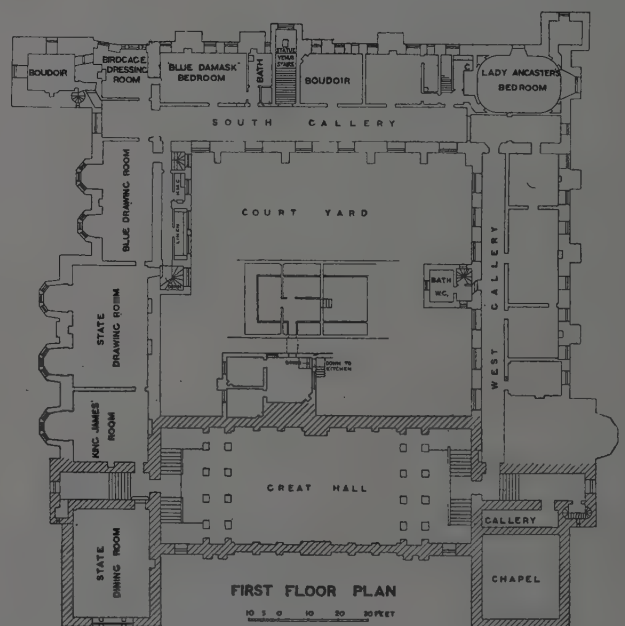
and up the slope into the great avenue that, triple-lined, conveys to the forecourt, turns out to be only the flanking tower, or wing, of Vanbrugh's façade. The forecourt, enclosed by walls faced with a great number of arched recesses and terminated by two pavilions which foreshadow the main towers, is on the lines of the earlier forecourt shown in Kip's view. The court and angle towers serve, moreover, to accentuate the angularity of the design. This façade is an affair of square blocks, as massive as the architect could make them appear, divided by horizontal bands into rectangular divisions.

The central block has the massiveness of a Roman amphitheatre, which it resembles in the two tiers of arched windows. These are bounded by pairs of the vast Tuscan coupled columns and demi-columns with deep horizontal joints which Vanbrugh first used at Blenheim, and later, with such marked effect, about the great entrance to Seaton Delaval. Each group of columns supports a tremendous block surmounted by statuary groups of the exactly appropriate Herculean type, completely baroque. Similar ones were probably intended for the piers at Seaton. Instead of a central pediment, however, there is only the vast Bertie coat of arms, with the supporters, a savage and a monk. The massive Doric cornice and frieze supporting the central member is of a monumental size, which can scarcely be grasped save by a close view of one of the mutules, groups of which hang under the corona of the Tuscan or Doric cornice. Each cup-shaped drop here measures about six inches in length. In the middle of such a cyclopean façade the Doric doorway is dwarfed. The accentuation of the ends and the comparative insignificance of the centre were dictated by the existing plan.

At the same time, a certain flatness on this front with the design for the garden front, might be made to suggest that Vanbrugh tended, at the end of his life, towards Palladio's urban conception of an architecture of façades. The contemporary temple at Castle Howard (Fig. 74)



451.—AS RE-PLANNED BY VANBRUGH.
From "*Vitruvius Britannicus*."



452.—PLAN OF GRIMSTHORPE AS IT IS TO-DAY.



453.—SIR JOHN VANBRUGH'S HALL.



454.—CEILING, FLOOR AND ARCADES ARE DESIGNED AS A UNITY.
The stone is rich cream-coloured ; the paintings, of kings, dark brown.



455.—THE CHIMNEYPIECE.



456.—BENEATH A GALLERY.

might be cited in corroboration, as might the fact of Vanbrugh's coming into contact on the Board of Works at this time with Dubois, translator of Leoni's edition of Palladio. On the other hand, Seaton and Eastbury give no premonition of this tendency, being, on the contrary, culminations of Vanbrugh's characteristic style. Whether he did develop a "late manner" must remain controversial, and we remain sceptical, believing the Grimsthorpe garden front to be largely the design of Campbell, and the character of the entrance front to proceed from Vanbrugh's regarding it as a re-building.

The stone of Grimsthorpe is an offshoot of the famous Ancaster stone, and was quarried in the park. The castle is built on a narrow ridge. The great avenue to the front runs along its crest, and on the side away from the approach the ground falls again to a great lake, with woods beyond. A good description of this part of the park (see also Kip's engravings, Figs. 447 and 449) is given by Arthur Young, who paid a visit to "The Duke of *Ancaster's* park at Grimsthorpe" in 1768, in the course of his "Tour through the North of England," and has left some valuable particulars of the interior of the castle as well. He writes :

The road leads through the park for the course of about



457.—THE ENTRANCE, FORMERLY THE SERVANTS' HALL.



458.—ONE OF THE STAIRCASES AT EACH END OF THE HALL.



459.—FROM THE CHAPEL GALLERY.



460.—THE CHAPEL.

three miles; the house appears at first view (as well as afterwards, as you proceed) extremely magnificent; being admirably situated on a hill with some very fine woods stretching away on each side; many hills and slopes seen in different directions, and all pointing out as it were an approach to a dwelling. In the vale before the house is a noble piece of water, with two pretty yachts upon it, the banks are boldly indented with creeks in a fine style, and the breadth and length considerable, but two circumstances are much wanted to render it complete; the principal end of it appears in full view, instead of being lost behind a hill or plantation which this might easily be, and would add infinitely to its beauty and magnificence, for the conclusion of a water being seen, is painful at the very first view: The other point is, the break in the water by the road, for in fact it is two lakes, and one being higher than the other, a *real* bridge cannot be thrown over; at present it is a causeway; but it might very easily be made to appear so like a bridge, as to deceive even those who pass it, and this would be attended with a great effect.

The Kip views from Knyff's drawings are particularly complete. They date from the end of the seventeenth century, and thus show the entrance front that preceded Vanbrugh's and the other three sides of the old house, including the side overlooking the lake which was remodelled in a Wyatt-ish Gothic about 1800. The park is especially well shown, also the water noted by Young, though the divisions had been removed before his time.

In this valley stood the Abbey of Vaudy, or Vallis Dei, a daughter-house of Fountains, and

one of the less prosperous abbeys. On the authority of Leland, even in early times there was—

a fair park between Vaudey and Grimsthorpe. The Place of Grimsthorpe was no great thing afore the new building of the seconde court, yet was all the old work of Stone; the Gatehouse was faire and strong, and the waulles of either side of it embatelid. There is also a great Dich about the House.

Further particulars are given by Fuller of the rise of Grimsthorpe, which, he says

I may call an extempore structure, got up on a sudden by Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk to entertain King Henry VIII in his progress in these parts. The Hall herein was fitted to a fair suit of hangings which the Duke had by his wife Mary, the French Queen, and is now in the possession of the Right Hon. Mountague, Earl of Lindsey.

It is scarcely worth hazarding a guess at the form of the original "place." Only one angle tower remains, that at the south-east corner, at the right-hand end of the south front (Fig. 444). This is traditionally known as King John's Tower. It has seven-foot walls and a groined roof



461.—THE STATE DINING-ROOM.

to two of the rooms, and, most likely, dates from the thirteenth century. Few details, however, remain, as it has been repeatedly incorporated in subsequent buildings. From Leland's account one gathers that Charles Brandon re-built "the second court." The only existing part that can be attributed to this period is the picturesque south range, the many-gabled garden side of which has been so often altered as to preserve little of its original appearance, though, as seen from the garden in Figs. 445 and 446, it is a charming relapse from the monumental romanticism of Vanbrugh's counterpart. There still remains an inner courtyard on the other side of this south range, which retains an Elizabethan appearance. A little tower on the eastern block gives a picturesque air to the court, which is, otherwise, principally occupied by offices. The north side of the yard was successively pulled down in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and at present is formed by Vanbrugh's block.

The only part of the mid-seventeenth century building that survives, and is also shown in Kip's view, is the riding school, seen in his plate (Fig. 448) to the left of the forecourt. This has remained unaltered. Riding schools were sometimes built at the beginning of Charles I's reign,



462.—BRUSSELS TAPESTRY OF FLORA (A. AUWERX).



463.—THORNHILL'S CEILING: THE MUSES, ARTS AND SCIENCES.

464.—MAHOGANY VENEERED DOORS.
All the above in dining-room.

and this was probably erected by the first Lord Lindsey (later to be Charles's commander at Edge Hill, where he was killed) for his three sons to use, two of whom also fell in that battle.

The origins of the castle are obscure, and, as Leland points out, it "was no great thing before Charles Brandon made a seat of it." It was, however, in the gift of Henry VIII, when a cousin of his newly wedded wife, Catherine of Aragon, and an attendant on her out of Spain, named Mary de Salines, married William, tenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby. He had previously married a daughter of Sir William Hussey of Sleaford. On this occasion Henry gave him the Manor of Grimsthorpe.

When Lord Willoughby died in 1526, Katharine, his orphan heiress, who was to have so chequered and renowned a life, was entrusted to the guardianship of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and eventually became his fourth wife. Her predecessor had been Mary Tudor, widow of Louis XII of France. Married at sixteen, she was left a widow at twenty-five with two sons, and resided at Grimsthorpe. Later, when her two brilliant sons, who had been playfellows of Prince Edward, went to Cambridge, she lived there to be near them, until, in 1551, both died of the sweating sickness.

Towards the end of 1552 she married a man at the very opposite end of the social scale to her first husband—Richard Bertie, one of the most successful "upstarts" of a period that is full of them. His father, Thomas, was the son of a yeoman farmer and mason of Bersted, Kent; and himself, from being a builder attached to the fabric of Winchester Cathedral, rose to be Captain

of Hurst Castle in 1550. He procured a grant of arms, had his son Richard educated at Oxford, and lived to see him married to a duke's widow. A detailed examination of the extraordinary deceptions that followed the marriage, proceeding from Bertie's desire to obtain, *jure uxoris*, the barony of Willoughby, is to be found in Mr. J. H. Round's "Peerage and Pedigree." Also, an exposure of the elaborate pedigree, stigmatised by Freeman as "probably the most monstrous of all our fictions," which the builder's son had fabricated, about 1579, to provide him with an illustrious, but entirely imaginary, ancestry of Saxon origin. But, although he himself admitted to Cecil that, genealogically, he was "no gentleman," and his wife to the same official that he was "meanly born," he was, none the less, a remarkable man and the sire of a remarkable line.

As both he and his wife were ardent Protestants, it would only be a matter of time before Bertie and his duchess would be had up before "bloudy Bonner." Bertie, with admirable foresight, obtained a licence for travel on the pretext of the large sums owed to the duchess on behalf of her late husband by persons in foreign parts. It was not, however, without the utmost difficulty and after hairbreadth escapes and total loss of luggage that, in the small hours of January 1st, 1555, Bertie, the duchess, her daughter and four servants, got away from their house in Barbican. "It would tire our Pen to trace their Removals from thence," confessed Fuller, "to *Leigh*, thence over the Seas into *Brabant*, thence to *Santon*, a City of *Cleveland*, thence to *Weafel*, one of the *Hanse-Towns*, and so to *Frankford*, thence (by many intermediate Stages) into *Poland*." The tale has often been told, not least effectively in "The most Rare and Excellent HISTORY of the Duchess of SUFFOLK and her Husband *Richard Bertie's* Calamity, to the Tune of *QUEEN DIDO*," printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The broadsheet describes how—

Thus through *London* they pass'd along,
Each one did take a separte Street,
And all along escaping Wrong
At Billingsgate they all did meet.

At length they reached Flanders :

And so with thanks to God on high
They took their way to *Germany*.

Then occurred the famous incident illustrated on this broadsheet by a woodcut, when the duchess and a new-born boy, "Peregrine Berty (carrying his forrain nativity in his name)," were forced to take refuge in the church porch of Wesel, where, a drunken sexton seeking to eject them, Bertie seized the keys from his hand and belaboured his head with them :

Wherefore the Sexton presently
For Aid and Help aloud did crie.

The difficulty throughout was ignorance on Bertie's part of the Dutch or Flemish tongue, though he was fluent in French, Italian and Spanish, and subsequently—

In *Latin* made a gallant speech.

With the advent of Elizabeth to the throne, the duchess and Richard Bertie returned to England, where she lived, both at Willoughby House in Barbican and at Grimsthorpe, till she died in 1580, and her husband till 1582, when Peregrine, in right of his mother, succeeded to the title of Lord Willoughby de Eresby.

One of the most devoted of the Queen's servants, Willoughby went on several embassies to Denmark. "Yet he was wont to say that he was none of the *reptilia* which could creep on the ground ; and that a court became a souldier of good will and a great spirit, as a bed of down would one of the Tower Lyons." He was, therefore, in 1586, sent to join the forces in Holland, and was almost immediately appointed Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom in succession to Sir Philip Sidney. In the skirmish at Zutphen, where Sir Philip was mortally wounded, Willoughby achieved a notable triumph in capturing single-handed a redoubtable French captain called de Cressiac. Towards the end of 1587 he succeeded Leicester in the supreme command, and a thankless task he found it. His private fortune was dissipated in keeping the troops together, and no action was ever risked. There are several letters to him from one Jonathan Stubbe,

scrivener, who appears to have been his chaplain and secretary at home, where Lady Willoughby carried on the administration of Grimsthorpe.

"Here is also some unkindness," writes honest Jonathan, "for sixty armours to be carried presently out of the house to the armourer, and so over sea . . . my Lady, your wife, would be glad of some little warrant of your hand for delivery . . . to say truth it is no trifling matter to empty your storehouse of armour. It is a man's other treasury. . . ."

Then the good old man ends up :

Be valiant, my Lord, in so good a cause, yet advised, staid not sudden, and that shall never a whit detract from courage or valour. Father Fabius' cunctation mingled with Scipio's haut courage, makes a good confection.—

London, Barbican, from your own open gallery. . . .

In a subsequent letter we learn that Willoughby did not relish these "conceits of my own which it pleaseth your Lordship to call councils."

At the time of the Armada many of his forces were recalled, but his brave wife went out and joined him, partly to care for him during constant prostrations by a chronic ailment which hardship and short commons did not diminish. At length, in 1589, his continual requests to be recalled were attended to, and



465.—THE DINING-ROOM CHIMNEYPIECE.

Carved in local stone. Lawrence's unfinished "Lady Willoughby de Eresby."

he was relieved of his command. Almost immediately, though, he was appointed to command the force attached to Henry of Navarre, and, though his troops were ragged and barefoot, the rumour of their presence so disconcerted the League that Henry soon found himself before Paris, whence, however, contrary to Willoughby's advice, he withdrew, not being destined to enter it till after six long years of fighting. In the following January Willoughby brought the ragged remnants of the stout Kentish and Sussex levies back to England. From 1590 to 1594 his poverty and ill-health set him leading a "Corydon's Life" on the Continent, till he was given the post he had long desired, the Governorship of Berwick. His administration of it was stern, and provoked many appeals to the Council of the North. But he had throughout

the support of the central government, which was practically all he ever did get from it, who had ruined himself bodily and financially in his country's service. He died, aged only forty-seven, in 1601.

Lady Willoughby was the heiress of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, which family had, from the time of Alberic de Vere, *temp.* Henry I, performed the office of Lord Great Chamberlain to the King. Eventually, Robert Bertie, son of Mary de Vere and Peregrine, established the right of his family to continue that function. At this time, however, after an education much resembling that of the famous George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in that it gave him a high proficiency in history, mathematics, heraldry, geography, physics, religion and divinity, the new Lord Willoughby was engaged in travel and wars. He was knighted for gallantry in the market-place of Cadiz by Essex, and later captured several rich galleons out of Peru. On succeeding to his father's title, he found himself in reduced circumstances and, therefore, stayed abroad. On his return, in 1610, he settled down at Grims-
 thorpe, seeking to improve his prospects "by noble traffic, he having learnt at Venice and Florence that merchandise is consistent with nobility." He also took a prominent part in draining the Fens, a subject on which he frequently spoke in Parliament. It was, however, a "rich match," with the heiress of Lord Montague of Boughton, that eventually repaired his estates. From 1624 onwards he was again serving against Spain in the Low Countries, and under Buckingham at sea, for services at which time he was created Earl of Lindsey, and, on Buckingham's assassination, succeeded him as Admiral of the Fleet. He made a second, unsuccessful, attempt to relieve the Huguenots in La Rochelle from the sea, and continued as principal admiral till the outbreak of the Civil War, when he raised Lincolnshire and Nottingham for the King. He then became Commander-in-Chief, in which capacity he went into action at Edge Hill. Charles, however, relied largely on Prince Rupert, commanding the cavalry, to Lindsey's constant mortification, which culminated when Rupert embarked on his memorable charge "without advising him, and in a form he liked not." Then he cried that, if he was not fit to be a general, he would at least die a colonel at the head of his regiment. He dismounted, and, pike in hand, led forward his men of Lincolnshire till he was



466.—IN THE STATE DRAWING-ROOM.
Charles I and family, by Van Dyck.

mortally wounded and captured. His three sons immediately set out to recover him. Two were killed, and Montague, the eldest, gave himself up that he might attend on his dying sire.

Lord Lindsey dying of his wounds, Montague succeeded to the earldom, but remained in captivity at Warwick Castle for a year. "He was one of the four peers who attended the King's body, on that dismal January day, to his grave at Windsor. Subsequently he resided quietly at Grimsthorpe, till he died at Campden House, Kensington, in Plague year. It was either he or his son Robert who repaired the ravages of a Roundhead "sack" of Grimsthorpe by building the north front as it is shown in Kip's engravings. One is inclined, though, to suppose that Robert was the builder immediately on his succession, since he was married to the coheir of John Massingberd, an East India merchant. Robert, his son, born 1660, filled various appointments under William III and Anne, when Burnet esteemed him "a fine gentleman, hath both wit and learning," though Swift noted: "I never observed a grain of either." However that was, Macky, writing in 1704, remarked he was "handsome in his person, of a fair complexion,



467.—AN END OF THE STATE DRAWING-ROOM.

Pictures of the first duke and duchess. Kentian settee and chairs. Writing-table, with mounts by P. Caffieri, circa 1755.

and doth not trouble himself with affairs of State; but his brother, Lord Peregrine Bertie, is Vice-Chamberlain and a Privy Councillor; a fine gentleman and has both wit and learning." Peregrine was, therefore, vicariously honoured when Lord Lindsey, having been one of the Lords Justices during the interregnum following the death of Queen Anne, was, by King George I, created Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven. It was he whom Vanbrugh was sent to sound on the matter of Lord Nottingham's repeal of the Occasional Conformity Bill in November of 1718. Writing from Greenwich to the Duke of Newcastle, he said (November 29th):

I think I shall dispatch my affaires here on Monday, both Publick and particular: in Order to receive your Graces Commands for Nottingham by the Middle of the Week. But I can go in no Comfort if this Hamp^t: C^t: matter be not Granted or refus'd before I start. I therefore beg, You will with your wonted goodness, get my Lord Sun^d: to defer Speaking no longer. As likewise at the Same time, to receive the Kings Orders, for the Letter to the D of Ancaster, that I may take it with me, & make the most on't.

On Christmas Day he wrote from Castle Howard reporting his fortune at Grimsthorpe. So far as he had been concerned, his efforts to get the Nottingham bill rejected had succeeded:

"I find many of the Clergy of this Country dispos'd to be more drunk than ordinary this Christmass, to enable them to bear this Great Affliction with such humility as becomes their Cloath." Then, in a postscript :

I am very glad I brought L^d Sund^s letter, it was very well read, & I did my best to make the most on't. Both Father & Son are good in the Main. The latter will I believe be soon in Towne, & Vote right even in the Occasional Bill. The former has some Sighs & Groans about it. Tho to give him his due, not so much for fear of the Church, as for fear it shou'd not turn to the King's Service so much as he wishes, & expects. He has however some difficultys upon him, in respect of his Country Intrest which is amongst the High Flyers tho' he (with some difficulty) engages them in Elections, to vote for the Low. An Other point with him is, That he Voted with L^d Notting^m last time, and A Man of Honour shou'd not go back & forward. I pleaded to this, That the matter was neither a point of honour nor Conscience, but purely political and discretional; & that if he consider'd it that way, he wou'd find the Same reason for Voting Against L^d Nott^m now, that he did for voting with him heretofore: And so upon the whole, I left him I think in a Disposition to assist, or oppose very little, this Good Bill.

I believe he'll let his Proxy lye for that was what I press'd him most upon, as the easiest to his Tender honour.



468.—THE BAY WINDOWS OF THE STATE DRAWING-ROOM.

These passages show Vanbrugh in a new light—as a political canvasser of considerable dialectical ingenuity whose supposed absorption in architecture freed him of suspicion as a political agent. Probably, his arguments on the Occasional Conformity measure were enlivened with discussions on the possibility of re-building the house. Unfortunately, we possess no letters tracing the ripening of the old Duke of Ancaster's friendship for his genial canvasser. That the friendship and the project for re-building did ripen—the latter in the winter of 1722—is shown by two letters written by Vanbrugh to Newcastle after Ancaster's death. On July 30th, 1723, when writing about Claremont, he exclaims :

I have just now a Message from Grimsthorpe, That my Old Friend & Ally the Great Chamberlain is, at last, gone. I have no particulars how matters are left, but I think the Son he has left will prove the best Sovereign that has Sate upon that Throne, and I hope all reasonable means will be us'd to Cultivate him, for I don't take him to be of an Ungrateful Soyle.

In the same letter he says that he had dined with Robert Walpole, and found him "much content" with his undertakings at Houghton. His old Kit-Cat crony, Steele, was also there, obviously "in the declining way I had heard he was. If it should go otherwise than well with him, Your



469.—CHIMNEYPiece IN THE TAPESTRY ROOM.

470.—CHIMNEYPiece IN BLUE DRAWING-ROOM.
The Ladies Priscilla and Georgiana Bertie, by Peters.

Grace will give me leave to remind you of what you told me not long since, of your favourable Intentions towards me, for that *Sinecure*, the Reversion of which, I now take the Liberty to ask of you." Even the death of friends might be turned to one's advantage.

In August Vanbrugh was back at Castle Howard, after three or four days at Scarborough drinking the waters—the salubrity of which led

471.—STATE DRAWING-ROOM CHIMNEYPiece:
ANDROCLES AND THE LION.

Over this chimney-piece, the first Earl of Lindsey.

to the development of that place soon afterwards as the first sea-bathing resort. In a few days' time he and Carlisle were to return there "for a Weeks Swigging more."

And soon after that I point towards London. But Shall wait on his new Grace of Ancaster in my way, having the honour of an Invitation from him, to consult about his Building; by which I believe he is inclin'd to go on upon the General Design I made for his Father last winter & which was approv'd by himself.

He certainly has the honest heart your Grace says, And I hope will do all that's right." He is not mutinous, but takes more notice of little things being done, in a kind or Unkind manner, than he Seems to do.

That is the last surviving reference in the letters either to the duke or his building.

The hall at Grimsthorpe may be taken as Vanbrugh's most characteristic interior. Roman amphitheatres may have given him the suggestion for it, but it is an original conception from floor to ceiling. As true architecture should do, this part of Grimsthorpe grew from the plan. The hall, then the screens and staircases at either end correspond exactly to the grouping of the façade encasing them, while the dining-room and undercroft take up one flanking wing, and a chapel two storeys of the other.

In the custom of the day, Vanbrugh intended this to be the entrance hall, so the principal door gives directly into it. This alone is sufficient to suggest that it was summer when Arthur Young visited the place in 1769 and thought that "the house is very convenient." The present entrance has been contrived in the undercroft of the dining-room wing, formerly the servants' hall (Fig. 457). The peculiarly flat span of the vaulting should be noticed, which gives an unusual effect of "head room." Vanbrugh was an adept at vaults. He built his Haymarket Theatre on vaults, which he let, the rent being a useful subsidiary source of income when his plays or the opera happened, as they did frequently, not to be paying. In this entrance hall is a set of fourteen admirable hall chairs of cream arabesqued in brown and gold, the Bertie crest filling the solid back panel. A resemblance will be seen to the canteen at Lumley (Fig. 435).

At either end of the great hall (Fig. 456), which is entered by a passage from the undercroft, are double screens of arches, connecting the fenestration scheme of the side walls, and separating two double staircases from the hall proper. This type of hall, with two rows of arches round the walls and stairs contained in a screen, was used at Blenheim in a rudimentary form. A few years previous to making out these designs Vanbrugh was working at Audley End (Figs. lx and lxi). There he had to enlarge the great hall by destroying the south, or dais, end, where he placed instead, a screen of three arches, like those at Grimsthorpe, communicating with a double flight of stairs running up the outer walls and uniting at the first floor. Here the stairs (Fig. 458), instead of running up the outside walls, are adjusted to the broader but much shorter space.

Both at Grimsthorpe and at Seaton the walls are arcaded in two tiers, and left bare. At Seaton, however, the upper tier of niches was filled with real stucco figures of the Arts, while at Grimsthorpe they contain grisaille paintings of monarchs, in imitation of statuary. These monarchs actually represent William I, Edward III, Henry V and, over the chimneypiece, George I; then William III, Henry VIII and Henry VII; the monarchs to whom the family of Willoughby are chiefly indebted. A similar form of decoration was used on the great staircase at Easton Neston by Hawksmoor and by Vanbrugh at Kings Weston, also on the staircase. In the latter instance the paintings represent urns, on a dark brown ground; but the walls have since been painted white. At Grimsthorpe the original effect has also been, to some extent, modified by the darkening of the paintings by age. They are now too low in tone to combine satisfactorily with the beautiful creamy stone walls. When Vanbrugh found a fine stone available, he was artist enough to let its subtle gradations of colour and marking be his only mural decoration, apart from architectural features. Such features are the cornice—a fine piece of enrichment similar to the external one—the niches, the bold clean moulding of which it is a joy to look at, and the chimneypiece. Here, again, we are reminded of the affinity in Vanbrugh's work to that of the traditional architects of Charles I's time. In the chapter on Seaton Delaval it was shown how Vanbrugh came across work at Nottingham by the Smithsons, that remarkable group of Midland architects who continued, in more architectural manner, the traditions and decorative *motifs* of the sixteenth century, mixed with a certain amount of the French and Flemish. In this chimneypiece, the lower part of which is identical to those used at Blenheim and Kimbolton, we cannot point to any single feature and say, "this is English tradition." But its form recalls the Smithsons, as the plinths supporting the crest are reminiscent of Daniel Marot.

Among the subsidiary architectural features admitted by Vanbrugh into this restrained, yet monumental, scheme may be mentioned the cartouches at the side of the end walls; consisting of swags or festoons, they are, none the less, typical of their designer. Particularly attractive is the cartouche where two cherubs' heads support a festoon on which rests a ducal coronet, a form of the coupled *putti* so often used by Gibbons and Wren. Such pieces of conventionalised ornament mark the transition from Gibbons to Kent.

As the walls respond to one another so the floor and ceiling are treated as a chorus. In the former a great oval path of flags with two borders of polished black marble, in the ceiling a huge oval cove draws the design together. The paving of the central oval of the floor, moreover, radiates from a vast flagstone in the very middle. The "path," too, is connected with the central feature of each wall by other short, straight paths, just as the moulding of the ceiling repeats the pattern aloft. The dimensions of this superb space are 40ft. broad and 110ft. long.

The furniture of the hall is largely of the period. It is a difficult area to inhabit, and usually a carpet partially covers the bare stone of the floor. A highly interesting piece is the double writing-table of walnut seen in the top right-hand corner in Fig. 453, reputed to have belonged to Sir Robert Walpole.

At either end of the hall a double dividing staircase with balustrade of finely wrought iron leads up to a tremendous Doric portal (Fig. 458). The ceilings of these spaces are painted with



472.—"KING JAMES'S" DRAWING-ROOM.
Probably decorated in a "French" style. Circa 1725.

mythological scenes, each in a great oval, and Laguerre's "Battles of the Duke of Marlborough" adorn the walls. These doors and stairs are extraordinarily effectively massed, and give complete satisfaction to the eye.

To the west of the hall is the chapel (Fig. 460), occupying the ground and first floors of the flanking wing, and lit from three sides, a gallery occupying the fourth. The walls are very highly decorated with stucco, much of which resembles the plasterwork of Charles II's period in richness. The pulpit, the reredos, the demi-urns fixed against the wall are all worthy of attention. There is no evidence that Vanbrugh was concerned in the design of the decoration. More recently Mr. S. T. Aveling has introduced some appropriate pews and benches, purely Carolean in treatment. In the gallery a stucco chimneypiece occupies one end wall, while the splendid Zurbaran "Benjamin," of heroic size, which one remembered well from the Spanish Exhibition at Burlington House a few years ago, occupied the other end, till he was removed to the long gallery—a more convenient, if less impressive, setting for him.

The State dining-room (Fig. 461) occupies the position corresponding to the chapel at the other end of the hall, though on the first floor only. Chapel and hall are essentially of their period, but in the dining-room we begin to find the compromising touch of time and habitation. The shell is Vanbrugh's—the splendid venetian window, high in the north wall, and the setting of Thornhill's ceiling (Fig. 463), where the mouldings and spandrel spaces are painted to represent plasterwork. But the decoration shows little of his touch.

To begin with the original fittings. The doors are remarkable, since they are constructed of mahogany overlaid with other woods. The panels of mahogany have a fine inlaid triple reeding of holly or some light wood, while the raised portions are veneered with walnut. The imposts and lintels, made of deal, are overlaid with mahogany. At this date, about 1725, mahogany was still something of a rarity, and, though increasingly used in furniture, it is uncommon in doors till several years later. At Seaton Delaval we noticed (page 290) the excitement felt by the carpenter at setting up mahogany wainscot about this period. He had, clearly, never met the wood before. A few years later Sir Robert Walpole imported huge quantities for Houghton, after which it became the fashion. The ceiling representing the assembled Muses, Arts and Sciences, with Athene and Time, is a very fine example indeed of Sir James Thornhill's work. There is much of Tiepolo's vigour about it; and, though it has the disadvantage, in a ceiling, of being painted to be looked at from one side of the room only, it is enabled thereby to be a better picture. The modelling and drawing of some of the figures in the foreground are admirable, notably of the group in the left centre (Fig. 463). The idea of containing the design in an oval may have been taken from some of the work of the Riccis, who were working in England a few years earlier.

The chimneypiece (Fig. 465) is somewhat later than Vanbrugh's time, though one is inclined to consider it as one of the forerunners of rococo in England. Carved in the local stone, it is exceptionally delicate, and is closely related to the chimneypiece in the State drawing-room. Both are unusual in having scenes depicted not only on the central plaque, but also in the spaces on either side of it. The scenes here—fishing and riding, with a symbolical group on the plaque, and birds in the tops of the imposts—may, not improbably, be derived from France *via* Germany, which was one of the first centres of rococo. The Hanoverian Court in England tended to such tastes, and the Dukes of Ancaster were very much in the Royal circle at this date. The six wall girandoles, brought in 1847 from the House of Lords, are most interesting and uncommon examples of the work of William Kent's period. The copper urns on the console table, mounted in ormolu, formerly stood on the stairs of the Palace of Prince Charles of Lorraine in Brussels. The chairs, modern reproductions by Messrs. Keeble of a fine George II design, are somewhat overshadowed by the majestic State chairs that are their neighbours.

The tapestries are a set of mythological scenes, representing Apollo and the Muses, Neptune, Flora and Diana, woven at Brussels by Albert Auwerx. He entered the Brussels factories in 1657, and by 1707 was controlling seven looms. His chief works are a set of about twenty "Scenes from the Life of Count Guillaume Raymond of Moncade," now in the Vienna State Collection.

Among the notable pieces of furniture here are three chairs of State from the House of Lords—large, massive, gilt, and crimson velvet upholstered. One was used by George III from 1803 to 1810, one by the Prince Regent, 1811 to 1820, and another by the same gentleman at his coronation banquet. They came here as the perquisites of the Lord Great Chamberlain on those occasions, an office which has gone with the Willoughby de Eresby title since the first Earl of Lindsey (as he afterwards became) established his claim to it in right of his mother, daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. Among other trophies so obtained may be included a remarkably large grandfather clock, some 10ft. 8ins. high, the movements by Francis Robinson (before 1726). This is the clock that, on the authority of Vulliamy, stopped at the hour of George III's death—on January 29th, 1820. It now stands on the west stairs in the great hall. The picture over the chimneypiece—a magnificent Lawrence, all the finer, perhaps, for being unfinished—represents Clementina Sarah Drummond, Lady Willoughby de Eresby, born 1809, and great-grandmother of the present Earl of Ancaster.

A succession of very fine rooms occupies the first floor of the east range—a range apparently built during the latter half of the sixteenth century. It consists of three drawing-rooms, the

most important of which is the State drawing-room (Figs. 466-468 and 471). During the eighteenth century and until 1848 this appears to have been used as a dining-room. It now contains the magnificent Van Dyck of Charles I and his family, seen in Fig. 466, and several other imposing canvases of the dukes and their duchesses. At either end stands a great settee, with eagles, ducally crowned, supporting the arms; they are part of a set of chairs upholstered in crimson and white Genoa velvet. A fine writing table, seen in Fig. 468, stands in one corner. The mounts are by Philipe Caffieri, of about the date 1755. This, together with the fine cartonnère standing on it, came from the House of Lords in 1847. Among other notable pieces are the mirrors each side of the Van Dyck and an inlaid commode of Louis XVI period from the Duke of Newcastle's sale.

The chimneypiece (Fig. 471), of white and Siena marbles, is an exceptionally fine one, and is obviously contemporary with the one in the dining-room, that is to say, rather later than



473.—THE BLUE DRAWING-ROOM.

Soho tapestries with yellow ground, by J. Morris. Made circa 1723 for Sir Gilbert Heathcote.

Vanbrugh's work in the north front. The subject of the chimneypiece cartouche is Androcles and the Lion, and above is framed the portrait of Robert Bertie, first Earl of Lindsey, who was killed at Edge Hill. Of these rooms, only "King James's drawing-room" (Fig. 472) was touched by Vanbrugh. Until their re-decoration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they probably retained their Tudor guise—whatever it was. In King James's drawing-room there is some exquisite French and English eighteenth-century furniture, including six superb armchairs, probably by Chippendale, in the style called "French chairs." Each one, 44ins. in height, is upholstered in Gobelin tapestry from designs by Boucher of pastoral subjects. They were bought in 1829 at Christie's, in Lady Willoughby de Eresby's sale, for £7 15s. per chair. The very notable mirror with the Bertie supporters (a monk and a savage) bears the initials "P.L." for Peregrine Marquess of Lindsey, who succeeded in 1742 as third duke. This is also ascribed to Chippendale, though the French influence is as strong here as in the chairs. In the same

room the chimneypiece and decoration are, possibly, Vanbrugh's. Above the former is a fine picture, after Van Dyck, of Robert Lord Lindsey. In another corner there is a curious contemporary allegorical picture of "the brave Lord Willoughby," that Peregrine who was born to Richard Bertie and the Duchess of Suffolk at Lower Wesel in Flanders.

Peregrine, the third duke, married, secondly, six years after his accession, a lady famous for her beauty—Mary Panton, daughter of the Master of the King's Running Horses at Newmarket. There is a charming picture of her by Reynolds, and two brilliant ones by the same artist of her father and mother. All three are above his usual level, but those of the old parents quite admirable. It was of Mary Panton that Horace Walpole wrote in 1763 :

There are no fewer than five English Duchesses in Paris now :—Ancaster, Richmond, Bridgewater, Hamilton and Douglas. The two last indeed upon an extraordinary lawsuit. . . . This suit is not so strange as the taste of the French, who prefer the Duchess of Ancaster to either the Hamilton or the Richmond.

The third duke died in 1778, and his son, who had gallantly served as aide-de-camp to General Carlton in North America, followed him, unmarried, to the grave in 1779, aged 21 ; whereupon Brownlow Bertie, brother of the third duke, succeeded to the title, but the barony of Willoughby de Eresby—which passes in the female line—fell into abeyance between his two nieces, till, in the following year, it was revived in favour of the elder daughter of the third duke, Priscilla, just married to Lord Gwydir. Her sister, Georgiana, subsequently married the Marquess of Cholmondeley, one of the noblemen now entitled to discharge the functions of Lord Great Chamberlain. The two sisters are seen in Peters' portrait in the chimneypiece in Fig. 470. The last Duke of Ancaster died without male issue in 1809, whereupon the dukedom became extinct, but the earldom of Lindsey reverted to General Albemarle Bertie, a descendant of the second earl.

The great days of Grimsthorpe, therefore, were, for a time, brought to an end in 1778. In 1769 (about) Arthur Young paid a visit to the castle, and has left some valuable notes of his impressions, which enable us to date some of the alterations which had taken place since we last looked at the house.

The chapel, Young found, was neat, and the tea room, with a bow window, pretty ; the chimneypiece was of marble dug out of the park. This "tea room" must be the present Chinese drawing-room (Fig. 478), the other side of the passage to the chapel. This room looks out to the west, where all this side of the castle was re-faced in the manner of Wyatt early in the nineteenth century—most probably on the succession of Lord Gwydir, after the death of the last duke, in 1809. It is in a Regency *chinoiserie* taste, a little reminiscent of "the famous *petits appartements* of Lord Steyne—one, sir, fitted up all in ivory and white satin, another in ebony and black velvet." Only this has a most cheerful Oriental paper—of trees and fields and birds on a pale blue ground—the inclusion of the (suggested) fields at the bottom being a charming and unusual touch. The woodwork is of black and gold lacquer, the dado worked in frets, the door of lacquered panels, and the surrounds a gorgeous panjandrum of all known ornamental *motifs*—Egyptian, classic, rococo and Chinese : all gold and black. The white marble chimneypiece is the only exception to the colour scheme ; porcelain figures stand on the mantelpiece, and some large powder-blue vases are fitted with ormolu mounts as ewers. The coved and coffered ceiling of pale blue, cream and gold harmonises in colour with the wall-paper, and in floridness with the room as a whole. The bay window mentioned by Young was at the same time given a fan-vaulted roof.

Young then returned to the east wing. The King James drawing-room was another tea room "richly ornamented with fluted pilasters finely carved and gilt, the ceiling cornices, etc., in a most light and elegant taste, gilt scrolls on a light lead colour," much as it is now. He then went to the present State drawing-room : "Next is the dining-room 40 × 27, with two bay windows, fitted up with gilt ornaments on a blue ground. The ceiling ditto on white in compartments. The festoons of gilt carving among the pictures, &c., is in a light and pleasing taste. The chimneypiece one of the most elegant in England" (then follows a description of it, and a note of several family portraits and of the great Van Dyck). "The next is a bad proportioned room, being much too narrow and low for its height [he, presumably, means "length"], but the fitting up is handsome. Here are :

"*Cocles defending the bridge*. His attitude is a very tame one ; nor is there any great expression in it.



474.—THE BIRD-CAGE DRESSING-ROOM.



475.—THE TAPESTRY BEDROOM.



476.—LADY ANCASTER'S BOUDOIR.

"Two Landscapes, in a showy style, containing each a large trunk of a tree, pretty.

"A fire at night in a town, fine." And so on. All the pictures he saw can be identified, though their positions have changed.

These notes are interesting, as the decoration of the last two apartments has altered—this small room only recently. Under the auspices of Messrs. Keeble a number of panels of Soho tapestry formerly at Normanton, Lord Ancaster's other home, have been most ingeniously fitted in. The design consists of birds, scrolls and flowers on a dull yellow ground. They were made, *circa* 1723, for Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Lord Mayor of London, by J. Morris of the Great Wardrobe, Great Queen Street, Soho: a rare and documented survival; though another, almost identical, set, saved from Hagley, presumably belonged to Sir Thomas Lyttelton, who died in 1751.

A blue damask bedchamber was next visited by Young, at the east end of the south range; it had landscapes painted in blue and white on its blue wall-paper. "Out of this room you enter the breakfasting closet which is extremely elegant; quite original and very pleasing." [He is going to describe what is now known as the Bird-cage Room (Fig. 474), occupying the first floor of the old south-east angle tower.] "It is hung with fine *India* paper, the ceiling in arched compartments, the ribs of which join in the centre in the gilt rays of a sun, the ground is prettily dotted with coloured *India* birds; the window shutters, the doors, and the front of the drawers (let into the wall) all painted in scrolls and festoons of flowers in green, white and gold; the sofa, chairs and stool frames of the same. Upon the whole, it is in real taste."



477.—LADY ANCASTER'S BEDROOM.

The traditional ascription of the decoration to Lady Elizabeth Pope, third wife of the third Earl of Lindsey, who died, approximately, in 1700, is as inexplicable as erroneous; curiously enough, a set of very competent pastel copies of family portraits in one of the upper passages is also attributed to this lady. In reality, this very perfect little room—which, as can be seen, has not altered since 1769, or since it was decorated, probably a few years previously—is the work of a very expert craftsman. The genuine Gothic groining has inspired a faint echo in the fan-like spandrels of blue and gold in the ceiling. The woodwork is skilfully painted in *chinoiserie* of the seventeen-sixties, and the whole is a rare example of a room in which the architectural features were influenced by Chinese wall hangings.

A gallery looking into the courtyard, the mullioned windows of which are a restoration, runs along the back of the south range, and harbours a large number of pictures. In this wing are situated Lady Ancaster's boudoir (Fig. 476) and bedroom (Fig. 477), elaborate examples of modern period decoration, the former containing some admirable little pictures, notably Hogarth's original paintings of "Evening" and "Noon," familiar in prints and glass pictures, and a remarkable canvas is Charles I by Old Stone, in low brown tones. The bedroom has silvery-brown walls, and the bed is hung in old mauve



478.—THE CHINESE DRAWING-ROOM: c. 1809.

brocade; the furniture, silver-gessoed. The Louis XV baroque chimneypiece is of *verdo antico* marble.

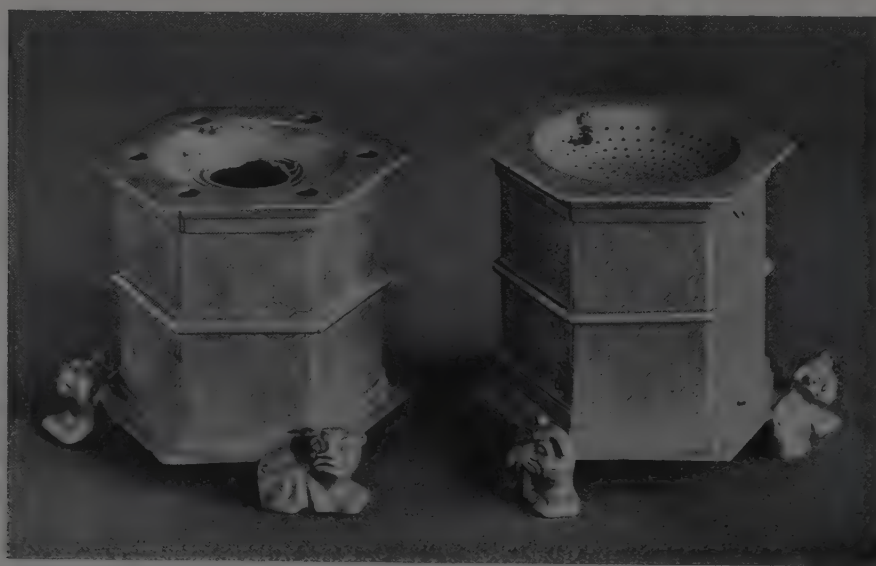
Another, original, bedroom—called the tapestry room (Fig. 475) after its Brussels hangings—contains a very fine chimneypiece and a remarkable Gothic bed dating from the late eighteenth century. Valances, counterpane and tester are covered with interesting rose point lace which is said to have originally belonged to Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. Originally on a green silk ground, it has been re-applied to brown silk.

The corridors and galleries are hung some with ancestors of all sizes and ages, from Holbein period to Victorian times. One is exclusively devoted to fighting cocks; another to portraits of racehorses bred or owned by members of the family. Some are by Stubbs—e.g., "Speculation"—or Wootton and less known artists. A small dining-room on the west side, decorated in pale blue and gold, contains a rare oil picture by Cosway; and the children of the third duke—to whom the various honours of Willoughby eventually descended—by Reynolds. A plumbago drawing of Downman's shows Priscilla (Lady Gwydir) and Charlotte (Marchioness of Cholmondeley).

In the smoking-room are two objects which, even after so many rare and beautiful things, are yet able to stimulate the visitor. They are a pair of silvery objects, a sand-dredger and inkstand, hexagonal, on dragon feet, chased with Persian designs, and bearing on their base an inscription which must set every true British heart a-bounding. Everyone knows the story of the mariner who, after describing a frightful wreck, produced, as proof of his veracity, a matchbox, with the impressive words, "And here is the matchbox that Captain Thingumy gave to me." These sand-dredgers even more conclusively prove the truth of "Robinson Crusoe." The inscription is as follows:

This inkholder and sand holder belonged to the Sophy of Persia's daughter, who, on her way to be married to the Great Mogul was taken prisoner by Aviry the Pirate, in whose ship Alexander Selkirk was, who from Aviry got the two above pieces. This Alexander Selkirk was born in Largo in Fife, commonly known as Robinson Crusoe. To Largo the place of his nativity he returned after all his wonderful adventures and a little before his death he sent this ink and sand holder to Robert Lundin of that ilk.

This heirloom came into the family through the Drummonds, one of whom married a Lundin. The objects are of an alloy similar to tutenag, and are of Indian or Persian manufacture, of the first half of the seventeenth century.



479.—ROBINSON CRUSOE'S INKSTAND AND SAND-DREDGER.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1661 Nicholas Hawksmoor born.
- 1664 John Vanbrugh born.
- 1679 Hawksmoor in Wren's office.
- 1682 do. Deputy Surveyor of Chelsea Hospital.
- 1683 Vanbrugh stated to have gone abroad for two years.
- 1686 do. gazetted cadet in Earl of Huntingdon's Regiment.
- 1689 Hawksmoor appointed clerk of the works at Kensington Palace.
- 1690 Vanbrugh arrested and imprisoned at Calais.
- 1691 do. transferred to the Château de Vincennes.
- 1692 do. transferred to the Bastille. (February 1st.)
do. released from the Bastille. (November 22nd.)
Hawksmoor, alone or under Wren, engaged on building the library of Queen's College, Oxford.
- 1696 "Captain Vanbrook" gazetted to a company in Berkeley's Marine Regiment.
Vanbrugh produces "The Relapse."
- 1697 do. produces "Æsop" and "The Provok'd Wife."
- 1698 do. censured by Jeremy Collier in his "Short View of the English Stage."
Hawksmoor appointed clerk of the works at Greenwich Hospital.
- 1699 Vanbrugh shows his design for Castle Howard to the Duke of Devonshire and other magnates. (Summer.)
do. writes to the Duke of Manchester that a model of Castle Howard is under construction which is to be shown to the King at Kensington. (December.)
- 1700 do. produces his version of Beaumont and Fletcher's "The Pilgrims." (March.)
do. and Hawksmoor interviewing London master masons for Castle Howard. (Autumn.)
- 1701 Work begun at Castle Howard. (Spring.)
Vanbrugh produces "The False Friend." (January.)
- 1702 do. succeeds Talman as Comptroller of the Works. (June.)
Hawksmoor completes the shell of Easton Neston.
- 1703 Vanbrugh builds a house at Whitton for Sir G. Kneller.
do. superintends the building of the Kit-Cat Room for Tonson at Barn Elms.
do. acquires land for a theatre in the Haymarket.
do. "Touch'd a herald."
do. puts the garden work at Castle Howard in hand.
do. produces "The Country House." (June.)
- 1704 do. designs for his theatre complete and foundation stone laid by Lady Sunderland. (Spring.)
do. and Duke of Marlborough choose site for Blenheim Palace. (December.)
do. with Hawksmoor sets to work on designs for Blenheim.
Hawksmoor completes library at Queen's College, Oxford.
- 1705 Vanbrugh opens Haymarket Theatre with an opera, "The Loves of Ergasto" (the second opera to be produced in England). (April.)
do. sends model of Blenheim to Kensington Palace for Queen Anne to see.
do. officially appointed "Surveyor" for Blenheim, the foundation stone of which is laid in June.
do. engages Edward Strong and Henry Banks as leading master masons for Blenheim.
do. produces "The Confederacy." (October.)
do. "The Mistake." (November.)
- 1706 do. as Clarenceux Herald carries the insignia of the Garter to the Elector of Hanover (afterwards George I).
Castle Howard, east wing reaching completion, main pile well forward and Nadauld carving in the cupola.
Blenheim, Godolphin writes: "The building is so far advanced that one may see perfectly how it will be when it is done." Gardens being carried out by Wise under Vanbrugh.
- 1707 Vanbrugh lets the Haymarket Theatre, which has been a financial failure.
do. submits designs for reconstruction of Kimbolton.
Blenheim, east wing built up to cornice level. Bridge in hand.
- 1708 Kimbolton, re-building in progress.
Duchess of Marlborough obtaining velvets, etc., from Venice for hangings for Blenheim. (August.)
do. do. visits Blenheim. Private apartments in east wing being decorated. (September.)
- 1709 Vanbrugh quarrels with Duchess of Marlborough over repairs to the old Manor House. (June.)
Blenheim, shell of east wing complete. Main block nearly ready for roofing. Kitchen court, gardens, etc., in course of construction. (July.)
- 1710 Hawksmoor engaged upon re-building Queen's College, Oxford, main quadrangle.
Blenheim, arch of bridge under construction.
Duke and Duchess of Marlborough's final interview with Queen Anne. (April.)
Harley in power; Godolphin dismissed.
Vanbrugh fears sabotage at Blenheim from unpaid workmen, the duchess having stopped all work. (October.)
do. Obtaining £7,000 from Treasury, resumes operations, and decoration of hall and saloon proceeds. (December.)
- 1711 Hawksmoor begins St. Alphege's, Greenwich.
- 1712 do. probably with Vanbrugh, is engaged on the Clarendon Building, Oxford.
do. begins St. Anne's, Limehouse.
Marlborough having been dismissed, he and the duchess retire to the Continent. The Queen stops all Treasury payments for Blenheim.
Vanbrugh is dismissed from Comptrollership of Works.
do. begins King's Weston about this time.
do. probably at about this date has in hand the alteration of Gilling Castle, Wakefield acting under him.
Castle Howard hall paintings being executed by Antonio Pelegrini.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
Castle Howard occupied by Lord Carlisle, and Vanbrugh, visiting there, sings its praises.
Hawksmoor reports on restoration of Beverley Minster.
do. prepares plans for new buildings at King's College, Cambridge.
Date given in "Vitruvius Britannicus" for house at Duncombe, work in charge of William Wakefield, but probably designed by Vanbrugh.
Vanbrugh writes on construction of chimneys at Kings Weston. (October.)
- 1714 do. sends to Marlborough (still abroad) a financial statement as to Blenheim: £220,000 received; £42,000 owed for work done; £25,000 needed for completion. (May.)
George I succeeds and Marlborough returns. (August.)
Vanbrugh knighted. (September.)
do. probably the architect of Compton Verney, called by Vertue "a well built house of 1714."
- 1715 Hawksmoor sends alternative designs for re-building All Souls, Oxford, to George Clarke.
Vanbrugh again Comptroller of Works, and appointed "Surveyor of Gardens and Waterworks" belonging to the Royal Palaces.
do. commences alterations at Clarendon which he has sold to the Duke of Newcastle, for whom, also, he is renovating the great house at the north-west corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields.
do. probably architect of Oulton Park, the re-building of which commences this year.
Hawksmoor succeeds Gibbs as Commissioner for building additional City churches, and begins St. George's in the East.

- 1716 Hawksmoor begins St. Mary Woolnoth.
Beningbrough being completed, Vanbrugh's connection with it doubtful.
Blenheim, work resumed, Vanbrugh dealing with the duke. (April.)
do. the duke has a stroke, and the duchess conducts the affairs of Blenheim. (May.)
do. duke and duchess in residence in east wing, Vanbrugh doing business with her, which is followed by the final breach between them.
do. completion of exterior of west section of main block. Painting of hall ceiling by Thornhill in progress.
Vanbrugh appointed Surveyor to Greenwich Hospital.
- 1717 do. urges preservation of Holbein Gate, Westminster.
do. acquires land in Greenwich and begins building his "castle."
- 1718 Dated design by Vanbrugh for Kings Weston forecourt. (February.)
Wren and Hawksmoor removed from the Office of Works and succeeded by William Benson as Surveyor and by his brother as Secretary.
Vanbrugh continues Comptroller.
do. is engaged about now on the new staircase at Audley End.
do. visits Ickworth and gives a sketch for a new house. (April.)
do. pays first visit to Seaton Delaval. (August.)
do. visits Grimsthorpe on a political errand. (November.)
do. probably concerned with the building of Shotover.
- 1719 do. marries Henrietta Yarburgh at York.
do. inspects Nottingham Castle and suggests alterations in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle.
do. completes the "New Room" at Clarendon.
Hewet succeeds Benson as Surveyor of Works. (August.)
- 1720 Hawksmoor submits designs for re-building Brasenose College, Oxford.
do. begins St. George's, Bloomsbury.
Eastbury (date of beginning not known), office courts finished according to Vanbrugh's first design.
- 1721 Vanbrugh visits Seaton Delaval, where work is now progressing. (August.)
do. visits Lamley Castle and plans alterations.
- 1722 Death of Duke of Marlborough. (June.)
Vanbrugh suggests a mausoleum at Blenheim.
- 1723 Outworks of Blenheim finished by Duchess of Marlborough.
Vanbrugh builds "Goose-pie House" in Scotland Yard.
Hawksmoor begins Christ Church, Spitalfields.
Clarendon, garden walls begun. (July.)
Vanbrugh consulted re re-building Grimsthorpe. (August.)
- 1724 Castle Howard, work proceeding on the outworks and "bastions," the Temple under consideration.
Eastbury, work proceeding on the main block according to Vanbrugh's second design.
Hawksmoor sends George Clarke a sketch for re-building Magdalen College, Oxford.
Vanbrugh at Seaton Delaval, interior decorations in hand. (August.)
- 1725 Vanbrugh's design for Temple at Castle Howard approved. (February.)
Vanbrugh visits Shotover, is denied entrance to Blenheim, spends a week with Lord Cobham at Stowe (where he had, probably, been the chief designer of the gardens). (August.)
do. receives delayed fees (£2,000) for work at Blenheim.
- 1726 Death of Vanbrugh. (March.)
Hawksmoor discusses proposed mausoleum for Castle Howard. (September.)
do. sees the completion of Temple at Castle Howard.
- 1727 do. submits drawing for Castle Howard mausoleum. (November.)
- 1728 Production of "The Provok'd Husband," by Cibber, incorporating Vanbrugh's unfinished "A Journey to London."
- 1729 Hawksmoor prepares designs for Hall of All Souls College, Oxford. (March.)
- 1731 Hawksmoor begins erection of mausoleum at Castle Howard.
Frampton Court begun in the Vanbrugh manner.
- 1733 Hawksmoor's cupola and gateway of Queen's College, Oxford, in course of erection.
Frampton Court completed externally.
- 1736 Hawksmoor dies, the Castle Howard mausoleum being near completion.

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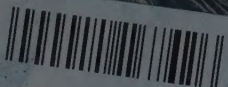
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